# THESIS

## CONSECRATION AND STEWARDSHIP: A SOCIALLY EFFICIENT SYSTEM OF JUSTICE

GORDON ERIC WAGNER

1977

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To Leonard Arrington & Dean May

Many thanks for all of the support, encouragement and inspiration you gave to me in so many ways.

Fondly

Gordon

# CONSECRATION AND STEWARDSHIP:
# A SOCIALLY EFFICIENT SYSTEM OF JUSTICE

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by

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## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Gordon Eric Wagner was born in Toronto, Canada, on April 14, 1938. In Toronto he attended secondary school and Toronto Teachers' College. In 1964 he received the B.S. degree in economics from Brigham Young University and the M.S. in 1966 from the same institution. He attended Cornell University from 1966 to 1969 pursuing a doctoral program in economics. Since 1969 he has taught economics at Wells College and as a part-time visiting lecturer and assistant professor at Cornell University in both the Graduate School of Business and Public Administration and the Department of Economics.

To the memories of my parents.

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# Chapter I

## INTRODUCTION

The question of what kind of social and economic organization and development meets the needs of the world today is being asked with ever more frequency as we enter the last quarter of the twentieth century. Though neither the question nor the various answers are especially novel to our times, there is, at least among many observers, a heightened sense of urgency to find adequate solutions to the question. This is because so many incontestable hard facts demonstrate the inability of existing systems to deal with the menacing disruptions of both the human and physical environments throughout the globe. According to one especially astute student of economics, the success of modern capitalism has been tied up with the "armaments race and the trade in arms (not to mention wars when they are used); it has not succeeded in overcoming poverty in its own countries and has not succeeded in helping (to say the least) to promote development in the Third World. Now we are told that it is in the course of making the planet uninhabitable even in peacetime."[1]

To avoid identifying these problems as endemic solely to Western capitalism, it should be stressed that even Eastern countries, the most notable being the USSR, have likewise (with

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[1]Joan Robinson, Economic Heresies: Some Old Fashioned Questions in Economic Theory (New York: Basic Books, 1971), pp. 143-144.

whatever reservations and exceptions) exhibited many of the above mentioned characteristics of capitalism. Indeed, it is not unfashionable today, nor is it unwarranted, to speak of the USSR, in particular, as a state capitalist system.[2] Whatever the immediate future has in store for these and other societies, including especially China, many students see the transformation of society towards more humaneness as essential. Still others are beginning to seek new answers to the old questions about social justice. Even some Western economists are found in this group despite the generally held view among mainstream economists that discussions of justice involve questions of value that have no place in a scientific undertaking. What is clear, however, is that no one, including the economist, who wants to make recommendations, small or large, concerning the many problems begging solutions can get anywhere without at least implicitly calling upon some set of ultimate values. This recognition has led many economists (with the help of philosophers) to begin again to probe more critically into the system of values that underlies their discussions. More specifically, the notions of "freedom," "justice," "need," and "rationality" are being reexamined in the face of an overwhelming sense of their absence in most of the world. In the end, however, all must answer the same question that has confronted every self-styled social architect

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[2] See Charles Bettelheim, Class Struggle in the U.S.S.R. (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1976).

of the past: by what right and by whose authority are their designs for a better world to be found?

The purpose of this dissertation is to identify the criteria of social justice which are to be found in the still little understood (and much misunderstood) Christian theology of Mormonism, and to describe the system of socioeconomic and sociopolitical organization, partly spelled out and partly implied in Mormon theology, that the founders of Mormonism believed would assure satisfaction of these criteria. The key ideological concepts of this theology are equality, participation, and consensus--equality of treatment, with a sufficiency for all and a superfluidy for none, participation of every citizen in all decisions of a collective nature at whatever level and discussion until consensus is reached. Since the circumstances surrounding the birth and maturation of Mormonism, and the historical changes that have occurred since, combined to prevent a full translation of the founders' ideals into practical prescriptions, this study has the dual aim of outlining the basic concepts and prescriptions, and then expanding upon them. The second of these aims, unfortunately, has had to take second place to the first, and requires far more work than was possible to devote to it here.[3]

Though the writer's biases in favor of such a system will be obvious, no attempt is intended to play the role of "Philosopher King." Rather, it is to describe and to some

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[3]An earlier and shorter version of this study was presented at the Second International Conference on Self-Management, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, June 1975.

extent elaborate upon the rudiments of the system of social justice that are to be found in the revelations that Mormons believe were divinely given to their prophet-leader Joseph Smith during the first half of the nineteenth century in the United States.

The following outline indicates the approach we will take. Chapter Two will trace the origin and character of Mormon socioeconomic doctrine and attempt, briefly, to identify, compare and contrast it with other historical and contemporary writings. Chapter Three will then deal (again briefly) with the actual events of Mormon economic history in order to provide the reader with an historical perspective of the Mormon experiences. Though this survey makes no claim to novelty or completeness, it will lead the interested reader to the best historical treatments, from which this chapter is primarily drawn. Here, we will touch upon Mormon economic practice in each of the movement's major periods, including the present, and will show that the Mormon people have, in the whole, been unwilling to fully embrace their ideal. Chapter Three also will emphasize the exceptionally hostile reaction exhibited against Mormons by mainstream America whenever they did try to live up to their economic ideals during the nineteenth century. In addition, and in fairness to the early converts to Mormonism, it should be stressed that it was as difficult for them to liberate themselves from prior conditioning as it is for those reared in one culture to acquire perfectly the attributes of another.

Following this synopsis on the origin, character and economic practices of the Mormon community, Chapter Four will begin the task of formally analyzing the system's characteristics. According to Mormon belief, the system is based on a contractual scheme of justice which was unanimously affirmed by all of the earth's inhabitants in their premortal state by democratic participation. As such, what is contained in modern revelation is believed to be nothing more or less than what was already assented to in humankind's pre-existence. Its content represents a consistent philosophical and theoretical whole that has social justice as its primary criterion.

After outlining the basic belief system and broad guiding principles of the revelations, Chapter Four will view this content as constituting a proper social contract, accepted by and binding upon all believers, and capable of embodiment in social institutions. We shall view this social contract as providing both analytical and evaluative concepts; as an expression of the values and the decision processes of ideal Mormon society; and as a reflection of this society's belief system, culture, social structure, property concepts and rules, and political mechanisms--as an embodiment, in short, of its values and institutional arrangements, broadly defined. The importance of this chapter cannot be over-emphasized inasmuch as it deals with the system's ideological basis. The implementation and operation of the ideal Mormon economic system would be successful to the extent and only to the extent

that each individual accepted, explicitly, the social values embodied within this ideology.

Chapter Five will explain the actual institutional characteristics through which the social contract is to find expression. A fundamental premise of this discussion, derived from the ideology outlined in Chapter Four, is that consumer, producer, and citizen equality is to characterize the system's working rules and organizational structure. In defining what constitutes equality for individuals within each of these customary social roles, it will be necessary to elaborate upon the locus and system of decision-making at each level, the nature of the property system, the structure and objectives of the productive enterprise, and its functioning relation to the larger community.

While the social contract defines the basic objectives of the system and specifies the basic operating structures and mechanisms, the need for planning to guide and regulate the system's economic activities is more implicit than explicit. Chapter Six elaborates on these planning implications and focuses on three major topics. The first deals with the structure, scope and content of economic planning, while the second explicitly addresses the issue of how behavioral consistency with the plan is to be achieved through the system's institutional mechanisms. A critical concern here will be to explicate the relationship between the system's behavioral control mechanisms and its incentive structure. Following the discussion of the first two topics, which essentially covers

the methodology of planning, we then address the topic of how economic consistency with the plan is to be achieved. This section deals specifically with the operational characteristics of planning, that is with the role of markets and prices and the nature of the economic adjustment mechanisms in a system guided by the criteria of social justice rather than by those of economic efficiency and private gain. Though it has been assumed by many students of Mormon economics that atomistic market forces are to characterize its operation, it is plain that full economic efficiency and perfect social justice cannot, in general, be achieved simultaneously. In a private enterprise system, efficiency comes first and justice second. In a justice system, the reverse is true. This does not mean that justice is totally absent under private enterprise, though it is usually provided imperfectly by ex poste mechanisms such as progressive taxation, social security, and welfare. Nor is economic efficiency totally neglected in the Mormon system of social justice. Indeed, there is reason to believe that this system would be more efficient than private enterprise because it would lack the distortions produced in the latter by monopolistic elements and inequities in the distribution of income, wealth and power. Stated otherwise, this means that the fully participatory planning and decision processes of the Mormon system would match the real community indifference map to the real community transformation possibilities, and socially determined utilities to socially evaluated opportunity costs, far better than under the so-called consumer

sovereignty of the private enterprise system.

Because of the extreme importance of this issue (and the growing disagreement concerning it), this discussion will argue that it is possible to enjoy the conveniences of market-prices while still satisfying the criteria of social justice through collective planning and decision making that reaches down to the grassroots. The conclusion here is that, although markets exist as places of exchange, the relative price structure should not and need not be determined by atomistic forces and should not and need not determine or influence the distribution of wealth and income. Rather, the product mix, the allocation of resources, and the relative price structure are determined collectively and are based on the socially perceived and consensually determined real opportunity costs of production and real utilities of consumption which must satisfy the intra- and inter-temporal equity requirements of the contract. These "real" costs and utilities, moreover, are not conceived to be expressions of pristine and natural human tastes and preferences, as in the pure doctrine of consumer sovereignty. Nor are they allowed to be influenced by advertisers subtly seeking private gain as in the operational private enterprise system. Instead, they reflect collective judgments of what is socially desirable, subject to what is socially possible--judgments that change through time as the result of development and learning, and that are subject at any time to the persuasive influence of appeals to resolve conflicts of economic interest by resort to the accepted criteria of social justice.

Since mistakes in planning and unforseeable developments would inevitably cause divergences between planned and actual magnitudes, there would be a need for economic adjustments to correct and coordinate supplies with demands. We will, therefore, discuss the merits of both actual price adjustments and inventory adjustments as they might be usefully employed in the system.

We will argue, in conclusion, that the Mormon economic system achieves justice both in its procedures and in its voluntarily accepted end-state goals, which lead to a remarkably high degree of social efficiency. Social efficiency here, however, is not to be confused with neo-classical static economic efficiency. Rather, it is dynamic in nature; it is based on a premise of social rather than purely individualistic welfare; it takes account of non-economic as well as economic values and anti-values; and it therefore allows for the internalization of externalities in advance of the decisions that are actually made.

Two appendices follow the conclusion of this study. The first provides to the reader a topical ordering of the revelations which deal specifically with the system, and the second reveals the basis and tone of Brigham Young's abhorrence of capitalism. Brigham Young, Joseph Smith's immediate successor, was President of the Mormon Church from 1847-77. As the most energetic leader in actively urging the Mormons toward their communitarian ideal, and the one who saw clearly the abuses and threats of capitalism against this

people, his views are especially relevant to this study. References to both appendices will be made at appropriate places throughout the text.

## Chapter II

## ORIGIN AND CHARACTER OF MORMON SOCIOECONOMIC DOCTRINE

In harmony with Jacksonian Democracy, nineteenth century America witnessed a substantial number of experiments in economic communitarianism. Most were inspired by would-be reformers who saw in America the requisite freedoms and necessary resources for the establishment of new social orders based on unselfishness, unity and cooperation. These approximately three hundred attempts at Utopian patterns of socioeconomic organization were, likewise, conspicuously similar in their common failure to achieve anything but a modicum of success, particularly in terms of any substantial longevity. The Mormons, in contrast to these groups (and a partial exception to the rule of failures), have received little attention from interested students of sectarian communitarianism. This is somewhat surprising when one considers the significant achievements made by these people in settling much of the western United States during the nineteenth century. Though their communitarian ideals and experiments largely succumbed to the pressures of the encompassing society, Mormon economic history during this period is punctuated by impressive accomplishments, necessarily wrought through group solidarity, cooperative ventures, and exceptional human toil.

Significantly, the Mormon experience during the nineteenth century was one of constant American political, economic and religious persecution. Four major forced migrations over a sixteen-year period (1831-1847) finally found the Mormons settled in the Great Basin Area with their headquarters established at Salt Lake City. In two of these forced evacuations, the open hostility of the Mormons' neighbors received overt consent and encouragement by the chief executives of Missouri and Illinois. Even the Great Basin Area was not secured as a resting place for these people until approximately the turn of the century, and then only after their significant, though in the long-run superficial, accommodation to norms imposed on them by the Federal Government by bringing to bear its full weight to force the Mormons to abandon some of their "peculiar" practices.

The mainstream reaction to Mormonism was, no doubt, the result of a general distaste for some of their religious beliefs, polygamy being the issue most often cited. What is less understood by most people is that a more fundamental source of opposition to Mormonism, long before polygamy became an issue, was their socioeconomic communitarian practices which were grounded firmly in their religious ideals and which posed a growing competitive threat to their immediate neighbors who were being caught up in the excessive individualism of market capitalism, which was sweeping across America, and by 1850 was the dominant economic system.

We should point out, however, that despite the

existence in Mormon theology of a comprehensive communitarian socioeconomic system, about which this study is primarily concerned, the complete system was never successfully implemented in its theoretical form. On the contrary, from 1830, when the church was organized, the Mormon experiences were marked by significant departures from the ideal as it was originally advanced by its prophet-leader, Joseph Smith. Although Mormons have consistently accepted responsibility for their failure to establish their Utopia, it would be a glaring omission not to weigh heavily the hostile political and economic environments as significant in the explanation. In each of the major geoqraphical nineteenth century Mormon periods, unique elements of institutionalized cooperative behavior--more or less reminiscent of their ideal--characterized their socioeconomic life and proved sufficient to invite a sustained and effective opposition. This lasted throughout the period of the settling of Utah until the demise of the last cooperative programs at the turn of the century under the pressure, among other things, of expropriations and nationalization of communal resources by the Federal Government in the crusade that one student has aptly termed The "Americanization" of Utah for statehood."[1]

The Mormon leadership finally recognized that to survive at all as a religious group, they could not completely detach themselves from the outside world, at least

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[1]Gustive O. Larson, The "Americanization of Utah for Statehood" (San Marino, California: Huntington Library, 1971).

not as a unique economic order. Consequently the twentieth century witnessed a movement by the Mormons toward outward accommodation to and assimilation into the mainstream of American economic life. Today, the image of Mormonism as perceived from the outside as well as, substantially, within the church, is assumed to be of a capitalist posture. This image has no doubt been enhanced by some of the church's leaders and orchestrated at times by a less than well-informed press. Although no argument is given here to counteract this image, it does represent a paradox. While individual Mormons have been successfully absorbed into the mainstream of American political-economic institutions, with a growing number achieving notable success, we still find that the actual internal individual and institutional behavior and values of contemporary Mormonism substantially belie the external image. One modern implementation of Mormonism's ideal, the Welfare Services Program, was introduced during the Depression of the 1930s. It has become an evolving and expanding program of the church throughout the world and is increasingly attracting the favorable attention of other groups. What is important in considering this evolution is the expressed intent by church officials to guide this movement toward the fulfillment of Joseph Smith's ideal--still considered a theological mandate.

## Origins

The Mormon story begins in 1820 when a little educated fourteen-year-old named Joseph Smith announced to the world from his upstate Palmyra, New York, home that he had seen and conversed with "Heavenly messengers." This "vision" according to Joseph came while he prayerfully sought an answer to his query concerning which church to join. He was told that none of the existing churches represented, in unsullied form, the one Christ established nearly two thousand years before. Further visitations and instructions and a restored Priesthood authority reportedly were granted to him over the next seven years. Also of significance, Smith had translated a record allegedly engraven on gold plates and published it as The Book of Mormon. It purportedly contains a religious history of ancient America and represents, along with the Bible, another witness for the divinity of Jesus Christ.

On April 6, 1830, he organized the restored Church of Jesus Christ and was unanimously accepted by a small following of family and friends as Prophet and President of the church. Following the organization of the church, further "revelations" continued to elaborate a detailed theological belief system. These revelations to Smith were finally published as the Doctrine and Covenants (D&C). This together with the Bible, The Book of Mormon and The Pearl of Great Price are considered by Mormons as authoritative

and divine.[2]

Approximately 80 percent of the revelations contained in the Doctrine and Covenants speak in part or exclusively to matters that are temporal or economic. Indeed, a significant emphasis of the teachings of Mormonism is "that a religion which has not the power to save people temporally and make them prosperous and happy here, cannot be depended upon to save them spiritually, to exalt them in the world to come."[3]

Appropriately then, the "revelations" to the prophet Joseph Smith contain an outline of a socioeconomic system which was to be capable of providing to all of the earth's inhabitants their temporal salvation. It has been variously known as the law of Consecration and Stewardship, the Order of Enoch, and the United Order. The designation accepted in this study will be the system of Consecration and Stewardship (hereinafter called C&S).

Joseph Smith was introduced to C&S in 1829 while translating a portion of The Book of Mormon.[4] It was first

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[2]These publications (Salt Lake City, many editions) are commonly referred to as the "standard works" of the church.

[3]Joseph F. Smith, "The Truth about Mormonism," Out West 13 (1905), p. 242. This Smith was the nephew of the first prophet and later became the sixth Prophet and President of the church.

[4]4 Nephi, The Book of Mormon, pp. 456-459. The Book of Mormon records that Christ ministered to the people on the Western hemisphere following his crucifiction and resurrection at Jerusalem. In the year 36 A.D. a mass conversion to Christ was followed by two centuries of economic

announced in a revelation dated February 9, 1831, and further expanded upon through subsequent revelations during the ensuing years. Since it is the primary task of this study to explicate the theoretical properties of C&S, we will only summarize its broad characteristics in this introduction to facilitate putting it into some kind of historical perspective vis-à-vis other systems.

## Doctrinal Foundations

C&S as it was originally advanced by Smith emphasized an agrarian type economy with small single family craft industry, but its logic would apply equally, mutatis mutandis, to an industrial society with large enterprises comprised of several or many workers. Each person upon entering the system was required to "consecrate" (legally deed) all property, real and personal, to the community, therefore making it social property. In return, a property stewardship or responsibility was deeded back to the person, with the guaranteed right to control and manage its assets. It was hoped that sufficient property would have been initially consecrated so as to provide stewardships to members who were poor and unpropertied. The right to work and to control enough material means of production to make a person's work

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communitarianism ". . . and there were no contentions and disputations among them, and every man did deal justly one with another. And they had all things common among them; therefore there were not rich and poor, bond and free, but they were all made free. . ." (p. 456).

fruitful, i.e., to a stewardship, was fundamental for everyone who entered the system.

Associated with the right to manage and control the assets of an individual stewardship was the responsibility to work wisely and industriously so as to enlarge its value. Furthermore, and in combination with the above, a certain degree of austerity in consumption was enjoined, thus making possible the realization of a gross surplus, all of which was to be deposited in the community's Central Treasury and/or Storehouse. Consumption constraints were to be accepted by all in conformity with an egalitarian principle which was to be based on the needs and circumstances of each family. In the absence of sizeable capital and property resources relative to a substantial population, it was obvious to Smith that sacrifices in consumption by early generations would be essential if such a system were to be viable and to benefit generations to come. C&S was not to be a barter economy but would be characterized by money prices and income, with exchange transactions conducted in markets.

Requisitions from the Central Treasury and/or Storehouse to aid a steward in maintaining and expanding his or her enterprise were to be regularly scrutinized by all members of the community through a democratic consensual process known as "common consent." Although each person possessed one vote, consensus was the goal. Moreover, an efficient system of representation was sought through the delegation of rotating authority, again by common consent of

the community. Smith's concept of the gross surplus being deposited into and allocated from a Central Treasury and Storehouse, among other things, possessed the merit of being a source of external finance. It was to allow the allocations to be centrally directed on the basis of sound investment criteria, since the furnishing of appropriate demand and production information would be expected from each steward in his or her dual capacity as consumer and producer.

Smith's community unit was to be limited in size, and its structure was to be replicated throughout the world--becoming then a United Order or federation of autonomous communities all linked together under the umbrella of a central administration which would be responsible for the dual functions of financing the establishment of new communities through redistributions and ensuring identical structural forms, including the preservation of justice.

The concept of justice in C&S is of paramount importance. It includes several elements which form the basis of what is in effect a social contract. All members of a community are to give assent to its contents upon entering the system, and are to be called upon regularly to repeat their affirmation to uphold it. Besides the humanistic decision process of decentralized control based on work and equality of participation rather than ownership, the contract includes a scheme of distributive justice that extended both globally in space and laterally in time, i.e., justice is both intra- and inter-temporally defined.

Non-alienating work, a decent environment, and a system of individual accountability further constituted the contract.

It is appropriate that Joseph Smith's ideas of a Mormon Utopia be considered against similar nineteenth century attempts at establishing conceptual and experimental social alternatives to the then existing socioeconomic system. The differences loom larger than the similarities between Smith's ideas and those of his predecessors or contemporaries. What is more, many of the characteristics of C&S have a closer affinity to the writings and intentional experiments that post-date Joseph Smith's time than they do to any that preceded him. Yet it must be supposed that all were influenced by similar historical antecedents, at least to some degree. About the only conclusion one can draw from the differences between Smith and the others is that the complex of ideas constituting the whole of C&S was the creation of a unique and impressive theoretical and philosophical mind that owed little or nothing to any one line of religious, political, or economic thought.

Nevertheless, one is bound to find among all seekers after social justice compatible notions of what would constitute a more equitable and harmonious society. Our present task thus is not formidable. We need only provide a loose and partial perspective on the relationship of Mormon thought to the ideas and experiments of a few who both preceded and succeeded Joseph Smith. The conceptual similarities as well as the differences will become more visible at the

conclusion of this study, however, since its fundamental purpose is to explore as far as possible the theoretical properties of C&S.

The position taken here is that C&S cannot be adequately identified with any of the traditional categories of capitalism, socialism or communism. On the other hand, it does bear striking similarities (both theoretical and actual) to the economic system of Self-Management, currently being tried in a number of historically and culturally variant societies. Also known as Labor-Management, this still very diverse system possesses an historical pedigree which has been, until recently, relatively neglected by scholars. At the basis of Self-Management is the fundamental humanist position that men and women should possess the rights to work, to have the facilities needed for productive work, and to participate in the management and control of both their economic and political lives.

A growing number of experiments throughout the world can be identified with this trend. It ranges, on the one hand, from the upsurge of small-scale producer and consumer cooperatives and even the wide establishment of communes, particularly throughout the decade of 1965-1975 in the United States and Canada, to comprehensive national movements such as that in Yugoslavia since 1950, Peru since 1970, and even China. Yugoslavia and China are by far the most significant examples of Self-Management in the world today.

Numerous other examples of partial and more ambitious

approaches to participatory self-management can be identified. Among others, the Israeli Kibbutzim; the French concept of communities of work; the co-determination developments in Germany; the two attempts at Self-Management in Czechoslovakia (both of which were quashed by the Soviets); and the impressive accomplishments of Mondragon, Spain, all point to a growing interest in decentralization and democracy in the work place.[5]

The attention now given to the theory of self-management is providing substantive structural insights into the workings of a cooperative economy. Students of this movement come from all the social disciplines with various conceptual perspectives. Moreover, attempts have now been made--and promise to increase--to evaluate more seriously the reasons for the failures and successes of both the contemporary and historical experiments at cooperation. Structural characteristics, not considered in the past, are emerging as significant explanatory variables. This understanding, of course, can be credited to the increased theoretical rigor given to the study of participatory economics.[6]

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[5]See for example Jaroslav Vanek, ed., Self-Management: Economic Liberation of Man (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1975); also Branko Harvat, Mihailo Marković, Rudi Supek, eds., Vols. I and II, Self-Governing Socialism: A Reader (White Plains, New York: International Arts and Sciences Press, 1975); especially Vol. I.

[6]This literature is becoming almost vast. Besides the two readers cited above which include some of the more important theoretical contributions, or at least selected exerpts of them, see also Jaroslav Vanek, The Participatory Economy: An Evolutionary Hypothesis and a Strategy for Development

According to a number of students of workers' participation, the "earliest true precursor" of workers' participation was an early disciple of Saint-Simon by the name of Phillippe-Joseph-Baptiste Buchez, whose concept of the "workingman's association" was based on the notion that true democracy could only be a reality in society if it was based in the work-place as well as in the form of government.[7] Without democracy in the work-place, political democracy could not long exist. His plan was finally to operationalize the egalitarianism of Christianity. It is an interesting coincidence that Buchez first began to expound his ideas to close friends and associates in the early part of 1830, the same year that Joseph Smith organized the Mormon church. Smith first began to lay out the principles of C&S in 1831, the same year that Buchez's scheme was given wide publicity in France. There is no known or likely connection between the two men.

At the base of Buchez's working men's association was the existence and accumulation of a stock of "social, inalienable capital" which was to be formed by the contribution of each member of the association and which was to become the permanent property of the association with the

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(Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1971) and Jaroslav Vanek, The General Theory of Labor-Managed Market Economies (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1970).

[7]On Buchez's ideas see R. Reibel, "The Workingman's Production Association, or the Republic in the Workshop," in Vanek, Self-Management: Economic Liberation of Man.

guarantee of perpetuity. All members of the association became entrepreneurs with legal representation. Each worker would be paid according to some customary scale and according to skill. The contribution of the entrepreneur would be set aside each year and divided into two parts: 20 percent as the increase in social capital and the rest distributed according to need and in proportion to work performed. No inheritance was possible because the social capital was perpetual and was to facilitate the continual entry of new members. Land, too, was also to be held in common and its inheritance limited.

Buchez was well aware that in the early stages of such an economic organization, constraints on consumption would be necessary in order to build up a level of social capital which would guarantee survival and expansion. A sense of charity towards future generations was indispensible in Buchez's conception. Moreover, he realized that a central fund or special bank to provide credit would be necessary for the multiplication of these associations. Its representative leaders were to be responsible for directing production in order to avoid the crises experienced by other systems.

As his ideas evolved he saw the importance of generalizing the association to include the factory form of organization. He was also committed to more "equity" among workers' incomes; guaranteeing work for everyone capable of it; and an increase in public assistance to those

unable to work.

Buchez realized that such a system was impossible to implement overnight. It was essential that people begin to internalize Christian values before his conception of a good society could be realized. As he saw it, gradual reform rather than revolutionary activity was to accompany any improvement in human behavior.

Although Smith's ideas line up closely with those of Buchez, the latter's influence on early nineteenth century reform movements in America was probably less direct than others'. For instance, Robert Owen's ideas, which found expression in his communitarian experiment at New Harmony, Pennsylvania, in 1825, are now generally conceded as having had a more widespread impact on reformism than has been credited. It is doubtful, however, that Smith was influenced by Owen.

Nevertheless, both Smith and Owen were men of action who pushed for a full experimentation of their ideas. While Owen's efforts were primarily non-political--he hoped that others would be attracted to imitate his experiment--the more practical Joseph Smith came to recognize the importance of building a political base for his ideas on which security, in part, depended. He was forced to actively pursue this goal near the end of his life by appealing to both the State and Federal Governments for the protection of his people under the Bill of Rights. In the absence of this sought-after protection Smith finally, yet reluctantly, became a

candidate for the office of President of the United States. He was assasinated less than a month following his announced political intentions.

Like Buchez, Smith was a pragmatist in another sense. His "peculiar" religious beliefs about the perfectibility of men and women (indeed the requirement that all who embraced the Mormon faith be immediately about the business of expunging selfishness and idleness from their lives), preceded the establishment of his socioeconomic system. Admittedly, Smith was disappointed that the necessary commitment on the part of his followers was insufficient to make a viable and permanent success of his experiment, even in the face of the aforementioned hostile political and economic environment to which these people were exposed.

Mankind's nature, Smith felt, had to be and could be changed before new institutions based on "justice" could have any real possibility of being preserved. But Smith was as committed to changing institutional forms as he was to seeing human behavior altered. The idea that unselfish behavior could be fostered and protected at the levels required in the Mormon scheme without a massive restructuring of social institutions was foreign to Smith's thinking. For him it was much easier to achieve a temporary level of individual commitment than it was to maintain or cause it to grow. If existing social forms constituted a temptation for backsliding behavior, then it was important to structure an alternative which would maximally protect and

mutually foster both individual and community behavior consistent with Mormon ideals. The ushering in of a Utopian society for Smith was not inextricably tied to historical laws of evolution. It had to be created by an unwavering degree of individual commitment to a matrix of values embodied within a quite explicit social contract. An institutional superstructure which was both compatible with those values, and values which were mutually consistent with each other, rounded out the total system.

There were also certain similarities between Smith's ideas and those of William Godwin; especially the emphasis of both men on the worth of individuals and the belief that social change could be effected without violence and compulsion. Godwin's brilliant theoretical Enquiry Concerning Political Justice, published in 1793, had an extended influence, at least perceptibly, on the classical anarchistic philosophical federalism of Bakunin, Proudhon and Kropotkin, and then even to Marx.

It is tempting and justifiable to compare Smith's system to the ideas of Marx and Engels. Although Marx dealt primarily with and is best known for his analysis of industrial capitalism, he did touch upon the characteristics of his "vision" of pure Communism. This "vision" was not developed with the same theoretical rigor as his analysis of capitalism but he was willing at times to describe quite broadly the form and structure of it. Two very distinct patterns emerge from Marx's writings. One was decentralized

and participatory; the other centralized and authoritarian. One is left in considerable doubt about which form, or what combination of these forms, Marx foresaw or preferred. It is clear, however, that those who first took inspiration from Marx in the design of new societies followed a centralist blueprint. On the other hand, in the past two and one-half decades, beginning with Yugoslavia's bold move to decentralize in 1950, many movements have evolved claiming a true Marxist decentralized and participatory tradition.

Although it is true that some of the early converts to Mormonism were drawn from other religious reform movements in Antebellum America, most notably the Campbellites, as well as others, and although Mormonism shared with them some common religious questions, it is doubtful that any of these communitarian models figured prominently in Smith's thinking. Indeed, the differences were pronounced enough to elicit Smith's repeated denunciation of them.

Although Joseph Smith argued throughout his life that C&S would be the successful alternative to the devastating effects and ultimate failure of existing systems, it was Brigham Young, his successor, who diagnostically saw and described the injustices and inefficiences of industrial capitalism. He served as one of the church's first missionaries to Great Britain during 1839-41, and saw first-hand the devastating effects of industrial capitalism. It was the same system, albeit in infancy, that threatened the survival of Mormonism in the West. Brigham Young consistently

argued, as did Marx, that as a system based on private property and competition, and characterized by inequalities in income distribution, monopolistic tendencies, crises, depressions, and the dehumanizing effects of industrial processes, capitalism was neither just nor efficient.

But it was Smith's system of C&S that Brigham Young always had before him and from which his criticisms of the world's political and economic system were given perspective. From this ideal backdrop, Brigham Young attempted earnestly on a number of occasions to urge the "Saints" toward living C&S. His ultimate failure at these ambitious efforts must have been a source of great disappointment to him, although he was probably well aware that any hope for success in his lifetime was premature. Nevertheless he firmly believed that C&S would be

> one of the last revelations which the people would receive into their hearts and understand, of their own free will and choice, and esteem it as a pleasure, a privilege, and a blessing unto them to observe and keep most holy.[8]

To this day the ideal system of C&S as laid out by Joseph Smith and elaborated by his prophetic successors has not been abrogated in the least. It continues as a theological constant in the Mormon belief system, in spite of the apparently wide deviations from it in the economic thought among so many Mormons today. Perhaps because of a growing

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[8] Journal of Discourses 2, p. 299. Quoted in John A. Widsoe, ed., Discourses of Brigham Young (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1961), p. 179.

awareness of these deviations, there is emerging within the Church an increasing amount of interest and discussion concerning the ideal system of C&S. This interest, of course, parallels a growing sense throughout the world that existing socioeconomic systems have failed in their attempts to solve the pressing and exacerbating problems of human welfare. There is a continuing quest to find a socioeconomic system which is both just and efficient. On balance, the data of today confirm many of the dire predictions of those social prophets of the past who feared that the dignity of men and women would increasingly be sacrificed to the conscious pursuit of material wealth and power.

Appropriately then, it is the purpose of this study to attempt, systematically, to discover the underlying structure and principles of C&S in its most unsullied form. The approach to be taken is primarily conceptual, treating C&S as a theoretical system, rather than as an historical event. This choice has been made for two reasons. First, though much has been written about C&S and Mormon economics generally, the treatments have been, with few exceptions, descriptive and historical. There continues to exist a need for a fuller theoretical treatment, and it is the writer's hope that this study will help to promote continued discussion among interested Mormon and non-Mormon students. Second, the institutional system of C&S, in its ideal and fullest sense, was largely abandoned by 1835 before it had been fully implemented, though many of its features were retained in varying

degrees through the Illinois period, during the trek West, and through the early colonization of Utah. It is precisely because of its less-than-ideal operation throughout most of Mormon history that we choose to emphasize the more conceptual approach to C&S as a theoretical system.

Furthermore, a fundamental part of Mormon beliefs is that C&S, despite its failure to take hold in the church's early history or to be implemented successfully in later years, will be adopted fully sometime in the future. Mormons are taught that tithing and the expanding Welfare Service Program in the church today are precursors to and preparation for moving slowly but assuredly towards the ideal. Sermons by the church's leadership continually enunciate the charge that a successful movement forward can only be accomplished if the membership will first seriously and faithfully fulfill the requirements of this "lesser law." This belief in moving forward not only justifies but should encourage further efforts like the one undertaken in this dissertation. An understanding of the essential properties of C&S is vital if success is to be achieved.

## Chapter III

## MORMON COMMUNITARIAN EXPERIMENTS[1]

This chapter provides a brief sketch of Mormon communitarian experiments since the organization of the church in 1830. It covers the seven major geographical centers and historical periods in which these people attempted as a group to organize themselves as an economic community. Although C&S was their economic ideal, both internal and external forces ultimately prevented them from achieving it. On the other hand, external influences both natural and political-economic, were catalytic agents which, by their very nature, prompted several of the Mormon attempts to create a viable new type of economic organization.

There are two basic conclusions of this chapter. One is that, in spite of their failure at any time to adopt fully the "revealed" system of C&S, the Mormon economic accomplishments in general should not be minimized. These accomplishments are significant for almost all of the periods to be discussed, the exceptions being of such short duration, during times of forced evacuations, that it would

[1]This chapter draws substantively from the two best historical treatments which deal, primarily, with the Utah period. They are: Leonard J. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom: Economic History of the Latter-Day Saints 1830-1900 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1958), and Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox and Dean L. May, Building the City of God: Communitarianism and Cooperation Among the Mormons (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1976).

be unfair to be sharply critical.

The second conclusion is that the failure to achieve C&S in its intended form, as well as the failures of the modified forms of cooperation throughout the nineteenth century, can be traced to three major causes, one external and two internal. These were not mutually independent, however; their interaction was significant in ultimately defining and eliciting each other. The external contributory cause of failure was the exceptionally hostile political-economic environment in which the Mormons found themselves throughout the nineteenth century. Religious persecution would accurately describe much of this hostility; but it must be emphasized that the socioeconomic practices integral to the Mormon belief system figured prominently in the persecutions, probably more than any other single factor. The internal reasons for failure were: (1) The unwillingness of the Mormons themselves actively to support the kinds of socioeconomic experiments that were formally asked of them by their leaders. In some cases reluctance went to the extreme of apostacy, with many of the apostates becoming active participants in the persecutions. (2) The structure of some cooperative experiments (modified forms of C&S) during the nineteenth century contained inherent sources of conflict best characterized as having built-in revisionary tendencies toward ultimate domination by owners of capital and away from communitarianism. Thus we find either abandonment of many schemes shortly after their beginnings or

an evolution toward capitalist organization in spite of the seemingly necessary commitment which was required of the early membership to embrace fully the system of C&S.

It should be emphasized that many of the conclusions stated herein are still tentative. Nevertheless, given the lack of hard empirical testing of these experiments the conclusions reflect the best scholarship to date on the subject.

Within a year after the church was organized, headquarters were moved temporarily from New York to Kirtland, Ohio (northeast of Cleveland). Kirtland remained a home for many Mormons through most of the decade. However, in the summer of 1831, headquarters were again relocated, this time to Jackson County, Missouri. This gathering place was intended to be the permanent headquarters of the church, but in November of 1833 an armed Missouri mob forced the church leadership to abandon Jackson County and concentrate headquarters once more at Kirtland. Again in 1837 troubles with their neighbors precipitated another move, this time to Far West, Missouri. The Mormons were expelled from Far West in 1838, and moved east across the Mississippi River to Commerce, Illinois, later renamed Nauvoo by the Mormons. Here they remained until February of 1846, when once more they were forced to abandon their homes and land and begin what was to become a famous and historic trek across the plains, the first groups finally arriving at their mountain valley home in the summer and fall of 1847.

From 1847 to 1896, when Utah was finally granted statehood, the Mormon story is primarily concentrated in the West. The modern period, which occupies the twentieth century, witnesses the Mormon movement as worldwide with a rapidly growing world membership totalling nearly 3.5 million today.

## Jackson County, Missouri, 1831-1833[2]

Approximately 1200 converts to Mormonism migrated to Jackson County, Missouri, during this short two-year period. In February 1831, just prior to the migration to Missouri, Joseph Smith first began to lay out the principles of C&S. He announced a concept of city planning intended to characterize all future Mormon settlements. This concept was to be applied first in Independence, Missouri, the first of several Mormon communities to be established in this area.

Although property consecrations, the assignment of stewardships, and a central storehouse all figured in the organization of Jackson County, very little was really accomplished before the Mormons were driven from the area in late 1833 by an armed "Missouri mob." A newspaper and printing concern were destroyed, homes were looted and burned and thousands of acres of land which had been purchased by the Mormons and placed under cultivation were lost in their scattered evacuation to the north of Jackson County.

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[2]Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, pp. 7-12.

Most of their possessions were lost or destroyed, and all efforts in the courts to get damages and free access to their lands failed.

The Missourians were no doubt distressed and aggravated by both the collective purchasing of so much land and its occupation by so many new converts to Mormonism. By 1833 approximately 30 percent of Jackson County's population was Mormon, and to the original settlers this represented an obvious growing bloc which threatened political control of the area.

The Mormons, however, were not exempt from internal difficulties. Notwithstanding the generally high commitment to their "new religion," many of the economically well-to-do converts were reluctant to embrace fully the requirement of consecrating their property of the church. This unwillingness, in combination with a larger influx of poor and virtually unpropertied converts, further exacerbated the necessary conditions for implementing their economic ideal. In fairness to some of those who held back on their responsibility to consecrate their means to the church, much hesitation can be traced to the lack of structural clarity of the underlying principles of C&S. Legitimate questions were raised concerning the degree of control to be invested in the presiding authority relating to the initial assignment of stewardships and subsequent allocations from the central treasury. There was the corollary concern regarding the degree of control to be granted to each steward, individually and collectively. Also

raised was the question of what legal form of property holdings C&S envisaged.

Initially titles to property were held by the church, with life leases, subject to cancellation, being granted to each steward. This form was neither entirely consistent with the revelations, compatible with existing civil law, nor acceptable to many Mormons. In 1833, because of these difficulties, property stewardships were granted by deeds in fee simple, which likewise (as we shall see) was not perfectly consistent with Smith's ideas.

The external pressures to expel the Mormons from Jackson County in November 1833 did not allow sufficient time for the internal difficulties to be resolved. Their partially built "Zion" was abandoned and their attention again turned to Kirtland, Ohio, as the church headquarters.

## Kirtland, Ohio[3]

As in Jackson County, meager overtures were made toward the establishment of C&S in Kirtland. The population of Kirtland had increased to 3000 by 1836 from 1000 before the Mormons arrived in 1831. Most, however, of the Mormon converts who had migrated to Missouri did not return to Ohio after their expulsion from Jackson County but scattered in areas to the north. Kirtland never became the focal population center for these people.

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[3]Ibid., pp. 12-15.

The most noteworthy cooperative undertaking in Kirtland, however, was the construction of the first Mormon temple, which cost $40,000 to complete and which involved a significant number of poor immigrants who otherwise would have remained unemployed. With this exception, most Mormon settlers were fairly well absorbed in the nationwide speculative economic activity of the day.

When the very severe and general economic collapse of 1837 occurred, Kirtland was no less susceptible to its impact than most other areas. The Kirtland bank (a creation of Joseph Smith), like several other banks in the country, ceased payments and closed its doors in 1837. Law suits against Smith by Mormons and non-Mormons alike, combined with the general dissension in the church, finally forced him to leave Kirtland in 1838 for Far West, Missouri. Five hundred of his faithful followers joined him later that year. Most of the Mormons' property was lost to payment on debts and by foreclosure.

The reasons for the failure to successfully implement the economic ideal in Kirtland were virtually identical to those in Jackson County. Hostility toward the Mormons gained momentum throughout the Kirtland phase. The general speculative economic climate was too much of a temptation for wealthier Mormons to ignore, and many failed to consecrate their property to the church. Furthermore, the principles of C&S were insufficiently developed by the leadership and poorly understood by the membership at this time. With a relatively

larger number of poor than those with means who were willing to support them in stewardship assignments, the Kirtland phase of cooperation was doomed.

## Far West, Missouri, 1837-1839[4]

After the failure in Kirtland, Far West, Missouri (which was located to the north of Jackson County) was designated as the new gathering place for the "Saints." Eight to ten thousand people reportedly migrated there during the years 1837-38. Consecrations were collected for purposes of buying land, establishing stores and building another temple, the hope being to establish a large self-sufficient community. An important modification was made, however, in the principle of consecrations. Rather than each person being required to consecrate all his surplus after stewardships had been assigned, as originally intended, the people were instructed by Smith that only 10 percent of their surplus was now expected to be annually consecrated to the community.

Reports from the area during 1837-38 suggest that an amazing degree of economic vitality quickly followed the settlement there. Several Mormon stores were operating in the area during this time, and plans to consolidate and enclose several thousand acres of good agricultural land were underway. There were strong indications that the

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[4]Ibid., pp. 15-17.

increased spirit of commitment found here would ensure success and a more permanent place for growth. This premature hope was finally dashed as a mounting and a more severe level of hostility, exhibited by the Missourians, culminated in another forced eviction, this time from the state altogether. It was impossible for the Mormons to find sanctuary anywhere in Missouri. Indeed the full weight of the State Government was aligned against these people by the infamous "extermination order" of Governor Lilliburn Boggs who considered the Mormon menace to be of sufficient magnitude to justify official expulsion or extermination, and the condoning of murder and plunder.

Twelve to fifteen thousand fled the state during the winter of 1838-39, leaving behind an estimated $300,000 in property. They pledged amongst themselves to support each other in their exodus and in their efforts to find a new home--this time Nauvoo, Illinois, located on the banks of the Mississippi River.

## Nauvoo, Illinois, 1839-1846[5]

This period witnessed a substantial degree of economic success among the Mormons. Intending to isolate themselves as far as possible, their city of Nauvoo became one of the largest (larger than Chicago at the time) and most important cities, both politically and economically, of the upper

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[5]Ibid., pp. 17-18.

Mississippi. By 1844 there were approximately 25,000 Mormons living in Nauvoo and surrounding areas. Farms, shops and factories numbering many hundreds were established with the hope of achieving agricultural and manufacturing self-sufficiency. Thousands of skilled craftsmen, mostly converts from England, contributed their expertise in building the Mormon commonwealth. Many public works projects, including another temple, were completed. These projects kept the labor force in Nauvoo during this time virtually fully employed. A constitution and authorized militia, the "Nauvoo Legion," consisting of three to four thousand men, was deemed essential and was organized for protection. This self-protection had been unsecured too often in times past.

It was during the Nauvoo period that many of the institutional structures of C&S ceased to be implemented. Rather than the stewardship principle formally applying, the joint-stock form of ownership emerged. The system of tithing was retained and formally incorporated as official church practice. This "lesser law" was given as a substitute for consecrations, purportedly because of the inability of the people to embrace fully the demands of C&S.

The citizens of Illinois, who were once sympathetic to the plight of the Mormons, became restless at the potential for political and economic domination in their growing and concentrated numbers. This restlessness increased with the constant demonstration of military readiness of the "Nauvoo Legion." Finally, mobs again armed themselves

and began a mounting level of harassments and threats. Governor Thomas Ford of Illinois gave at least covert support to the activities against the Mormons. The prophet Joseph Smith unsuccessfully appealed to President Van Buren to intervene in support of the civil rights of the Mormons but was turned down. Smith finally announced his candidacy for the office of President of the United States, but in June of 1844, before his campaign got fully underway, he and his brother Hyrum were assassinated while under arrest and incarcerated in Carthage, Illinois.

Finally, the Mormons were ordered to leave Illinois by the spring of 1846, which gave them only a few months in which to settle their affairs. In February 1846, physical abuse increased dramatically. Before they could sell their property or settle their affairs, armed and violent mobs entered Nauvoo, killing, looting and burning. The majority of the Mormons, 16,000 strong, escapted across the Mississippi on the ice and on ferries; thus began their heroic and famous exodus to the West.

## The Westward Movement[6]

This phase of the Mormon experience lasted from February 1846 to October 1847, when the largest company of pioneers arrived in the Salt Lake Valley--involving the movement of over fifteen hundred persons. Their hurried

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[6]Ibid., pp. 18-22.

departure from Nauvoo left the Saints again with only a fraction of the worth of their properties accumulated during the Illinois period. With the prospects of a long arduous overland journey the Mormon leadership had to make up for limited assets with superior organizational skill.

Economic means were turned over to a committee headed by Smith's successor, Brigham Young, to be used in transporting as many of the Saints as conceivably possible. The organization of families was in groups of one hundred persons, further divided into two groups of fifty, with each of the latter broken down into sub-groups of ten. Captains, nominated by the committee and approved by each group, were assigned to secure a maximum amount of responsibility for each family and wagon. Specialization of labor among blacksmiths, wagon-makers, clerks, guards, etc., ensured the garnering of maximum benefits of expertise. It was essential that the entire camp live to a great extent off the land. Advance groups of pioneers were sent ahead to plow and plant much of the unsurveyed land, the crops to be harvested by the larger groups which followed. Others were asked to seek employment and deposit their earnings in a common fund to be used to assist later groups. Still others were assigned to blaze a trail by building bridges and clearing brush.

Three major camps were established between the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers, with homes built in each for those who were to remain indefinitely. Cooperative agricultural and manufacturing enterprises were established

both to support these residents and to re-equip those who would be passing through.

To increase the revenues of the church and also to "allay the prejudices" of the American people, a "Mormon Battalion" of five hundred young men was allowed to be recruited by the U.S. Army to participate in the war with Mexico. Although this venture delayed the final part of the trek from Winter Quarters (now Florence, a suburb of Omaha) to the Great Basin Area, it added more than $50,000 to the diminished cash reserves.

Finally, in April of 1847 an advance company of 143 men, 3 women and 2 children left for the West and the remaining 1,000-mile journey. A larger company consisting of 1553 persons followed in July of the same year. They arrived respectively in the Salt Lake Valley in July and then September and October of 1847.

## The Utah Period

Upon entering the Salt Lake Valley the first company of Mormon pioneers immediately recognized that the natural environment of their new home and gathering place posed problems different from those encountered while in New York, Ohio, Missouri and Illinois. Although the area abounded in natural resources, they were not readily available for easy productive combinations. Cooperation was literally forced upon them by the desolation of this barren wilderness.

Although some accounts record critical dissatisfaction with Brigham Young's decision to locate in the valley, many more welcomed this challenge in comparison to the unrelenting persecutions of the past. Here the Saints believed they could begin to build their Zion, unmolested by their countrymen by virtue of the uninviting natural habitat and geographic isolation of the area. Few probably anticipated that their very success in making the "wilderness blossom as a rose" would ultimately present an invitation to easterners, not of their faith, to come and settle in the area and contribute to the renewal of familiar animosities.

Overland emigrants, the Gold Rush of '49, and eventually the completion of the Pacific railroad in 1869 all contributed to the ultimate end to Mormon isolation from the rest of the country. What is more, the growing "gentile" population in the Great Basin brought with it the prejudices and preferences of private market capitalism which by 1850 was sweeping through America as the dominant economic form. The Mormon reaction was to pursue more consciously the goal of achieving economic self-sufficiency and independence through a number of cooperative ventures. Renewed hostilities between the Mormons and their new neighbors were inevitable. Greatly incensed over the political and economic control of the Mormons in the Great Basin and desirous of thwarting it, the "gentiles" were finally successful in attracting the sympathies of the national population against Mormonism's peculiar beliefs and seemingly un-American

behavior. Although anti-polygamy was ultimately the issue that succeeded, for the instigators it represented a political cover for more basic economic and political issues. Finally, the full weight of the Federal Government was leveled against the Mormons causing them to retreat by the turn of the century from publically implementing their grandiose economic scheme.

## The Early Utah Period[7]

In characteristic style, Brigham Young, upon entering the valley, set in motion a system of economic regulation and planning appropriate to the conditions of the Great Basin. Natural resources were placed under public control. Cities were laid out and lots allocated by lotteries to families according to need. Agricultural land was also distributed by the same method in five and ten acre tracts. A common enclosure of these lands constituted a "Big Field," with outside lands designated for grazing.

Irrigation was essential for survival in the Great Basin. Immediately the Saints, through remarkable cooperative efforts, diverted the main source of mountain water by the construction of various sized ditches and storage reservoirs which reached all land to be irrigated. Public supervision guaranteed fairness to each family and enterprise through a scheduling procedure according to type of use and needs.

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[7] Ibid., Chapters 2 through 9.

Timber and mineral resources were likewise treated as social property, belonging to all the people and subject to central direction.

Roads, bridges and other public works were erected with an impressive degree of cooperation. Much of this came in the form of cash and labor donations based on the principle of tithing. One day in ten was to be donated in laboring on the construction of public buildings and in light industry.

Consistent with Mormon theology were the dual ideas of gathering to "Zion" the saints from all parts of the world and the desirability of effecting self-sufficient economic development in the Great Basin. An ambitious proselytizing program in the Eastern U.S. and Europe, particularly Great Britain, surpassed prior efforts to convert people to Mormonism. Emigration to the Great Basin Area was strongly encouraged so that an expanding level of human capital with diversified skills would contribute to the upbuilding of the "Kingdom" as a self-sufficient community.

To assist those who were too poor to pay their own way, the church officials established, in 1849, the Perpetual Emigrating Fund, later incorporated by the assembly of the State of Deseret[8] into the "Perpetual Emigrating Company." Through a system of voluntary donations from the Saints in Utah, the Eastern states and Europe, means were

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[8]Before receiving a Federal charter for a territorial government, the Mormons established a provisional government, calling it the State of Deseret.

amassed to aid many for the long and arduous journey to the Great Basin Area. Repayment by those so assisted, after their arrival in the West, was conceived as the means to make the Fund perpetual. However, the inability and unwillingness of many so aided forced church officials to tap other sources of revenue, particularly tithing receipts, to continue assistance to immigrants for a thirty-eight year period. The P.E. Company was finally dissolved in 1887 by the anti-Mormon Edmunds-Tucker Act which, among other things, expropriated the "assets" (uncollected debts), and made it unlawful for any "corporation or association" to help bring people to Utah for any reason. Notably, the Perpetual Emigration Company was responsible for helping directly or indirectly over 100,000 persons to emigrate to Utah, with approximately 90 percent of these immigrants coming from England and Northern Europe.

Because of the paucity of funds collected through the tithing system (most of the tithing was paid in kind because of acute shortages of cash), and the purported failure of the Federal Government to honor its obligations for territorial administrative expenses, Brigham Young made an attempt partially to revive the system of C&S in the 1850s. However, the idea that people should turn over all their property to the church and receive back a stewardship based on needs was becoming repugnant to many Mormons who also were being infected with the growing national sentiment of gain through individual effort. Moreover, on the pretext of surpressing

a non-existent rebellion, with the purpose of breaking the economic supremacy of the church in Utah, the Federal Government had ordered an occupation army to Utah. While they were enroute Brigham Young decided to abandon the revived consecration movement in 1857.

The "invasion" of Utah by Federal troops is a significant episode in American history. It represented the first of many attempts by the Federal Government to destroy the autonomy of Mormonism's peculiar cooperative socioeconomic system. Arrington says that "The campaign against Mormonism was part and parcel of the rising national campaign for private property, the free market, competition, and unrestrained enterprise." Mormonism in Utah was clearly "interfering with the spread of private capitalism throughout the West."[9] The occupation of Utah by Johnston's Army, according to Horace Greely in 1858, represented "the largest regular force ever concentrated upon the soil of our country in a time of peace."[10] Seven to eight thousand men under Johnston's command made the overland journey under orders from President Buchanan ". . . to restore the supremacy of the Constitution . . ." in Utah by replacing Brigham Young as territorial governor under the threat of a military force.

President Buchanan's decision to order an invasion of Utah without Congressional approval and without communicating

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[9]Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 174.

[10]Horace Greely, An Overland Journey, p. 247, quoted in Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 196.

his intent to Brigham Young was based on very little information and that, admittedly, not investigated for its veracity. Nor were the refutations eventually made by the Mormons seriously entertained by the President.

A letter by W. M. F. Magraw to his personal friend Buchanan had charged the Mormons with monopolizing all trade in Utah. Magraw had every reason to be bitter towards the Mormons as well as interested in a military occupation of the Great Basin. Magraw's lucrative mail contract with the Federal Government between Independence, Missouri, and Salt Lake City had been cancelled in 1856 due to poor service and cost overruns, and in rebidding was awarded to the Brigham Young Express and Carrying Company (commonly known as the Y.X. Company). The Mormon bid was lower than Magraw's because of already existing Mormon freight and passenger facilities and depots that could also be used for mail transportation. It is an interesting coincidence that the Federal Government in effect destroyed the Y.X. Company by secret cancellation of the mail contract, dated June 10, 1857, around the same time that Federal troops were ordered to Utah, Magraw being a principal subcontractor in supplying the expedition. Thus the occupation of Utah has also been known as the "Contractors War."

Brigham Young decided upon a guerilla type delaying action against the approaching Army. His orders strictly prohibited the taking of lives but included the burning of praire grass, wagons and supplies of the Federal troops.

Furthermore, his plans called for a mass exodus of all Mormon families with their food supplies to the central and southern parts of Utah. The few who remained behind were ordered to set the city on fire rather than leave their improvements as spoils to the U.S. Army.

Fortunately, a bloodbath was avoided by the willingness of both Brigham Young and President Buchanan to work out a peaceful compromise which was mediated through Colonel Thomas Kane, a friend of Brigham Young. It was agreed that Governor Cumming would replace Brigham Young as the territorial governor without a military escort. In return, a "free and full pardon" was unconditionally offered to and accepted by the Mormon leaders. Although the Federal troops were allowed to occupy the territory, their march through Salt Lake City was something less than triumphant. Disciplined and peacefully, they passed through a virtually evacuated city, moving forty miles southwest where they established their permanent headquarters. Four days after this march Brigham Young invited the "Saints" to return to their homes in the north. Within two months approximately 30,000 Mormons had made the return.

Throughout the next ten years or so the Mormon leadership pursued several projects designed to achieve a higher level of self-sufficiency. Public works, including manufacturing concerns, agricultural programs, and further colonization were all directed toward building and maintaining a self-contained community. Trade was permitted

and even encouraged with the Federal troops and "gentile" mining operations, but only as a means to securing cash and equipment on exceptionally favorable terms. Indeed, this interaction between the Mormons and the gentiles was a marked boost to the Mormon economy during the decade of the sixties.

## The Cooperative Movement[11]

The completion of the Pacific Railroad in 1869 ended the relative geographical isolation of the Great Basin Area. A continual influx of "gentile" capitalist merchants produced an increasing dependency on monetary market exchange and specialization, to say nothing of a well-financed anti-Mormon lobby force in Washington that extended throughout the Great Basin Area. Besides threatening the independence and autonomy of the Mormon community these events promised to exacerbate economic inequalities within the church and thus undermine the basic egalitarian premises of Mormon theology. Notwithstanding the short-run economic gains promised by such a movement, Brigham Young was convinced that as a result of it, Utah, and particularly the Mormons, would be colonized and subjected to exploitation of raw materials by the more dominant manufacturing sectors of the East. His distrust of and aversion to dependency

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[11] Arrington, Great Basin, Chapter 10; Arrington et al., Building the City, Chapter 5.

on market capitalism prompted him to introduce, on a massive scale, a "cooperative movement" which lasted from 1868 to 1884. It was designed to "cut the thread" between the Mormons and mainstream capitalism and took the form of "cooperative" retail and manufacturing concerns. It has been estimated that approximately two hundred separate cooperative enterprises were established by the Mormons during this period. In addition to retail cooperatives in each community, a parent wholesale mechanism was established known as Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Institution (Z.C.M.I.).

Once established, a sizeable proportion of the profits of these mercantile enterprises were intended to be allocated for the establishment of manufacturing and agricultural concerns in an effort to integrate backwards vertically so as to achieve the intended self-sufficiency of the Mormon economy.

The approach to the cooperative movement was at once grand in design and heroic in its rapid implementation. What was lacking, among other things, however, was sufficient attention to the kind of internal structural characteristics that would guarantee, other factors equal, perpetuation of the movement's cooperative characteristics.

Each community, or "ward," within larger populous areas established retail cooperatives which were to enjoy an exclusive monopoly of "Mormon" trade. The parent wholesale institution (Z.C.M.I.) was to be patronized by the locals in an interlocking network to obviate the necessity of trading with "gentile" merchants. Uniform retail prices

were established throughout the system, in an effort to eliminate hurtful price competition. For Brigham Young a drastic reduction in the number of people engaged as retail and wholesale merchants was desirable so as to release people for more productive pursuits in agriculture and manufacturing. The brief success of these ventures, however, was more a function of the religious zeal of its participants than of its internal structural characteristics.

Despite the Mormon's familiarity with the one-person one-vote principle of common consent, which was a fundamental cornerstone of C&S, the overwhelming majority of the cooperatives were, in form, nothing more than joint-stock corporations, characterized by the free transfer of stock and voting by shares owned. Furthermore, profits were for the most part distributed to capital without rebating anything on purchases, although very liberal credit policies to consumers were common. In an effort to avoid, as much as possible, the concentration of ownership in a few hands, the price per unit share was generally kept low ($5). Much sermonizing by the church leadership encouraged the poor to purchase an interest in their local cooperative, and the rich to restrain themselves from excessive purchases. Instead, the latter were encouraged to invest primarily in local manufacturing.

A very small number of cooperatives insisted for a time on a single vote per shareholder regardless of shares owned. Notwithstanding the "moral suasion" of the

leadership to broaden the ownership base as widely as possible, the legal structure of the cooperatives remained basically capitalistic, and by 1884 most of the concerns which had survived at all were concentrated in the hands of a few private capitalists, Mormon and non-Mormon alike.

Z.C.M.I. was the most notable of the successful enterprises during this period although it ultimately experienced the same capital domination as the other "cooperatives" which survived. It is instructive to note that Z.C.M.I. was often aided by general church revenues when its own financial resources were deficient. Additionally, there is some evidence to suggest that another source of external funding came from Zion's Cooperative Banking Institution which was established in 1873 for the mobilization of savings for investment projects which the church was interested in. How substantial this source of financing was for Z.C.M.I. awaits further research. The absence of external funding for the local retail cooperatives and their high preponderance of failures as compared to Z.C.M.I.'s relative success does, however, suggest that it would be useful to investigate the reasons for the failures of the cooperative movement. Some of the reasons for the short life of this episode in the Mormon experience appear to have been poor management, the extremely generous credit policies extended to consumers, and the harassment by Federal officials which finally led to the severe prosecutions by the Federal Government. By 1882 the church officially relaxed its strong stand against

competitive enterprises in the wake of mounting political pressure. The cooperative movement, if it could be called that technically, was essentially dead by 1884.

## United Order of Enoch[12]

Of all the experiments at cooperation, the United Order movement was by far the most ambitious and in some respects the most interesting undertaken by the Mormons; not because of any substantial measure of success but rather because of the sheer scale at which it was attempted and the variation in structure that emerged. As a church-sponsored program, it began after the cooperative movement was underway and, for the most part, failed before the former was discontinued.

In spite of the cooperative movement described above, non-Mormon capitalists were essentially in control of the Great Basin economy by 1873 and the area was therefore not exempted from the harsh effects of the national depression which followed the panic of 1873. Brigham Young saw this event as an opportunity to build upon the earlier cooperative movement by moving toward a more comprehensive system of economic organization. Beginning in the winter of 1873-74, the Mormon leader expounded a scheme which would expand the cooperative principles to all forms of labor and investment.

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[12] Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, Chapter 11; Arrington et al., Building the City, Chapters 6 to 13.

It was a last ditch effort by the aging prophet to sever the Mormon ties with the mainstream system and push for total cooperation and unity. More than 200 communities, totalling more than 80,000 inhabitants, were organized as United Orders between 1874 and 1893, although the majority had failed by 1877, the year of Brigham Young's death. Approximately half failed within a year after beginning operations. These communities were dispersed over a wide area, including the present states of Utah, Idaho, Wyoming, Nevada and Arizona, as well as Mexico.

Variation in structure was considerable under this ambitious reorganization effort, and was due primarily to Brigham Young's reluctance to spell out in minute detail what form the United Orders should take. In speculating on his lack of structural precision, a number of explanations might be offered. Brigham Young's understanding of C&S correctly envisioned that a significant degree of autonomy be granted to each community. However, as we will argue later on, the autonomy to be granted under Smith's plan did not include the right to alter the basic structural components of the system. On the other hand, Young made no pretenses that what he was encouraging was any more than a precursor to the ultimate establishment of C&S, and therefore his unwillingness to insist on structural conformity may have been based on the practical consideration of just getting the Mormons to cooperate on a larger scale which was consistent with each community's level of commitment.

Brigham Young's compelling motivation in introducing the United Order movement was to make Mormons self-sufficient and independent of the larger economy; if this goal could have been achieved, even within various structural formats, time might have allowed for subsequent modifications and improvement.

Whether or not Brigham Young completely understood the modus operandi of C&S, the prevailing laws of the land defined to some extent (if only in the minds of the people) the permissible variations in structure that the United Order could assume. Three broad types of United Orders thus evolved and have been defined as capitalist, collective and communal.[13]

The capitalist type, most prominently represented by the successful Brigham City United Order, was organized essentially as a joint-stock producer cooperative. People were not asked to consecrate all their economic property to the order but were encouraged to purchase stock in it. To facilitate as broad an ownership base as possible the value of stock was kept sufficiently low to allow most members of the community to enjoy some degree of ownership. Differential wages and dividends were received according to amount and type of capital and labor contributed. In the Brigham City system an elected United Order Board of Management essentially directed the operation of forty or more separate

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[13]See L. Dwight Israelson, "Economics of the United Order," unpublished paper, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 1975. See also Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, pp. 330-337.

enterprises. Its leader, Lorenzo Snow, later lamented the substantive difficulties he and his associates on the Board of Management experienced and the excessive concentration of responsibilities that the Board assumed. It appears that a more effective balance between centralized and decentralized control might have been sought to arrest the difficulties that concerned Snow. Moreover, the experiment fell short of full participation by virtue of the voting by shares rule.

These structural shortcomings in comparison with Joseph Smith's plan were at least partly responsible for the final and early abolition of the Brigham City United Order, but this can also be traced to several adverse events. During the years 1877-1879 the woollen mill was destroyed by fire; grasshoppers destroyed a large portion of the grain crop; the Federal Government placed an embargo on the removal of timber for the sawmill operation, and imposed a tax on the currency script issued by the United Order. Finally the imprisonment of leader Lorenzo Snow in 1885 for his practice of polygamy left the community without its leader, and most of the cooperative enterprises were liquidated in that year.

The second type of United Order, the collective, is typified by that in St. George, Utah. Although it was designed to encourage all members to consecrate all their property, time and labor to the order, a loophole in the twelve Articles of Agreement left it optional to consecrate only "such property as people felt disposed to transfer

to the Order, to be controlled by the Board of Management." The upshot of this voluntary provision was a significant degree of conflict between those who consecrated their property and those who did not. Many of the wealthier members of the community contributed only a portion of their means and spent more time in managing that which they withheld as private property. Members were entitled to dividends on their capital contributions and were given the option of withdrawing at least a portion of the original capital contributed if they wished to leave the order. Control and management were based on number of shares owned. This was unfortunate because it was a departure from the original articles of agreement which specified a one person - one vote procedure. Confusion, divisiveness and dissension combined with Government opposition to bring about dissolution of the St. George United Order in 1878.

The major difference between the St. George and Brigham City types of United Orders was the feature of property consecrations in the collective type and its absence in the other. Both were characterized by a considerable degree of centralization and both lacked precise guidelines concerning the degree and nature of decentralization.

The third type of United Order can accurately be described as communal. The most prominent community organized under this type was that at Orderville, Utah, in 1875. Its prominent features included the consecration of all property, real and personal, to the community and the assignment of

stewardships. Distribution was according to needs and circumstances with no dividends on capital contributed. Management and control were vested in an elected Board of Management for the community as a whole. Almost complete self-sufficiency was attained for this small community. Though the level of economic well-being was never exceptional, it represented an improvement over what had been the community's lot before the United Order was organized.

Families were housed in row apartment units with a large common dining hall constructed in the center where all members ate in cafeteria style. The women shared the responsibility of preparing the food under a rotation system. This feature diminished the privacy of each family and represented a significant departure from C&S.

Continued experimentation to improve the institutional framework characterized this deeply committed community until Orderville suffered the same fate as other United Orders. Its leadership was similarly removed through forced exile and penitentiary sentences when the Federal Government enforced the Edmunds Act. In 1885, after just ten years in operation, Orderville's United Order was finally dissolved.

One special problem which arose in Orderville was related to membership admission. In essence, too many newcomers were allowed to enter when there were inadequate resources to support a growing population at the same economic level of welfare. The community recognized this problem but was unwilling to turn away similarly committed

families and thus prevented a more substantial per capita economic growth rate.

As mentioned earlier, the United Order experiments survived for only a short time. They did, however, lengthen the independence of the Mormon economy from the encroachments of the larger economy. It is conceivable that in the absence of the unrelenting prosecutions of the Federal Government, sufficient time for experimentation with institutional improvements might have moved the diversity of the United Order movement closer to the specifications of C&S.

## Zion's Central Board of Trade[14]

At the death of Brigham Young in 1877, the church lost its most creative supporter of the United Order experiments. Young's successor, John Taylor, in the face of mounting Federal pressures and growing dissension and dissatisfaction toward the United Order in the church, was responsible for sanctioning a superficial preference for economic individualism. This is not to say that Young's successor was opposed to the economic ideals of C&S. Rather, his response was based on the recognition that the United Order was neither achieving the success intended nor operating in a manner that was compatible in all particulars with the system of C&S. At the same time, he was unsure of the complete and detailed structural forms the United Order should take.

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[14]Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, pp. 341-349; Arrington et al., Building the City, Chapter 14.

Taylor was pessimistic about salvaging the remaining forms of the United Orders and instead opted for a less radical and more limited form of cooperation among the Mormons. In 1879 he introduced Zion's Central Board of Trade which, unlike the United Order experiments, did not require the participation of many members. It was more an effort to work within a basically capitalist environment while eliminating some of that system's most prominent deficiencies.

In starting anew with some limited features of cooperation, Taylor hoped that a gradual evolution could be made toward the more comprehensive economic system of C&S when its features were better understood, provided the economic and political environments were conducive to a successful implementation. Unfortunately, this more limited form of cooperation suffered the same fate as the others. By 1884, after less than five years in existence, Zion's Central Board of Trade was dead. However, in this instance its failure can be traced almost exclusively to the hostile activities of the Federal Government and not to any specific internal difficulties. Indeed, its death blow came at a time when it was enjoying a substantial and mounting degree of success.

The infamous "raid" and successful enforcement of the Edmunds Anti-Polygamy Act in 1884 forced every leader of this economic experiment into hiding and caused its almost immediate failure.

Zion's Central Board of Trade was a central umbrella

organization that linked up with similarly designed decentralized Stake (or community) Boards of Trade. The broad objectives of the Stake Boards were: (1) to encourage home manufacturing in an attempt to achieve as much self-sufficiency as possible; (2) to aid in the elimination of harmful competition by avoiding overstocking of the market; (3) to establish fair prices to both producer and consumer. Additionally, retail middlemen were to be eliminated as far as possible in order to avoid the high margins which were generally being exacted elsewhere.

The Central Board was to aid the Stake Boards by promoting uniformity in the customs and usages of producers and merchants throughout the total Mormon community in order to procure a consistent degree of equity in trade. Information was gathered and disseminated by the Central Board to the several local Stake Boards so that some gains from specialization and trade among the several communities could be fostered and more accurate production decisions could be made to avoid excessive market adjustments. The Central Board further aided inter-community trade by arranging for the transportation of goods. Furthermore, it aided in the importation of Eastern goods so consumers in all communities could get them at the best possible price.

More generally, the Central Board was hopeful of providing guidelines and assistance in settling business disputes justly and expeditiously and fostering more harmony between capital and labor so that a substantial degree of

de facto cooperation could be fostered within a basically hostile de jure capitalist economic environment.

The question remains whether, in the absence of the Federal prosecutions, Zion's Central Board of Trade would have continued to record success or would have gradually lost its cooperative characteristics by virtue of the potential tensions between capital and labor embodied within its structure. The still substantial degree of religious economic idealism among the Mormons might have been sufficient to maintain it as a going concern and eventually to allow the leadership to develop a more complete structure which would be compatible with a harmonization of capital and labor and also consistent with the principles of C&S. This, as mentioned before, was impossible because the full force of the Federal Government was successfully brought to bear upon the Mormon community. C&S, or some variant of it, remains in the minds of the Mormons as a dream for the future. For many, it is something that ultimately has to be attempted and successfully implemented in fulfillment of God's commands to the church.

## The Modern Welfare Program[15]

After the granting of statehood to Utah in 1896, the long and bitter memories of the persecutions and prosecutions which lasted for the better part of a century caused the Mormon leadership to put in abeyance their economic ideals.

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[15]Arrington, Building the City, Chapter 15.

The goals of survival and growth as a religious society became predominant. Tithing became the primary and much emphasized source of revenue which facilitated the payment of church debts and led the church to invest in direct ownership of several enterprises.

Little public discussion during the early part of the twentieth century centered on the cooperative and self-sufficiency programs of the nineteenth century. Mormonism was, for the first time since Smith's first "vision," becoming acceptable, at least tolerated, by American society. This process of outward accommodation within the mainstream of American political and economic institutions has continued to the present, so that many American Mormons identify themselves with a conservative, or classical libertarian, political-economic philosophy.

What is little understood, however, is that most of these same individuals are also committed to Mormon variants of cooperation and unity. The Church Welfare Plan emerged during the economic depression of the 1930s, but different from the preceding experiments, which had envisioned a whole economic system separated from the national economy. The modern approach was more in the form of a unique welfare appendage to the existing capitalistic system, which had by this time absorbed most of the membership of the church. While it was initially conceived to help church members through the depression years, its retention and development during the prosperous years that followed evoked "prophetic"

reminders of the extreme susceptibility of market capitalism to severe and periodic crises. If a full-blown self-sufficient Mormon economic system was impossible to establish at this time, then certainly an institutionalized rearguard holding action capable of cushioning the consequences of economic reverses, was deemed both possible and consistent with the required egalitarianism of Mormon doctrine.

It should also be noted that the church's initial response during the depression years was as much a supplement to Federal Aid programs as it was a substitute. When President Roosevelt announced his intentions to cease Federal Aid and transfer welfare responsibilities to state and local governments, the Mormon leadership accelerated the scope of their own program in recognition that state governments of Utah and Idaho (where most of their members then lived) were financially incapable of assuming such a burden. Although the general practice among the church membership since the depression, notwithstanding some controversial debate, has been to accept transfers under Federal programs, there continued to exist a well-founded distrust of the coercive powers of the national government.

The form and scope of the Church Security Program, as it was initially called (in 1938 it was renamed the Church Welfare Program), was certainly influenced by the ideas and philosophy of Joseph Smith. Assistance under the church program was (and is today) granted according to need. Primarily it takes the form of commodities which

have either been produced in church-operated enterprises or donated by those who have enough to spare. Two operating principles of the welfare program were that those in need of assistance were given work-relief assignments in church-sponsored welfare enterprises. The needs of the incapacitated were filled through direct non-reciprocal transfers. Additionally, every member (young and old, male and female) was expected to donate time in the operation of the various local welfare projects. Money donations, in addition to tithing, are husbanded under the fast offering program according to which, on the first Sunday of each month, each family is expected to abstain from food and drink for two meals, donating the equivalent cost of these meals for the express purpose of local welfare needs. Needs are ascertained by local church officials through two programs of home visiting. Great emphasis is given to the importance that each family be visited at least twice each month so that, among other things, the temporal welfare of the church could be secured. This is accomplished by the delegated and systematic active participation of almost all committed members over fourteen years of age. In its philosophy and operation families get what they need. It bears no resemblance to the familiar and repugnant "means test," i.e., to make sure that families need what they get.

Another basic principle of the welfare program was that each geographical ward in the church was to produce as much of the basic necessities for its people

as was possible. A surplus was encouraged both for storage against a short-fall as well as for exchange with other local wards. From this emerged the intention of creating self-sufficient regions, and today with the worldwide growth of the church the aim is to create areas "in which the total basic necessities can be produced."

In the absence of comprehensive community self-sufficiency programs for basic necessities, the church since Brigham Young's time has emphasized individual family responsibility for maintaining a food storage and other basic necessities program sufficient for at least one year.

Recently, there has been a marked expansion in the whole concept of welfare in the church--each facet coming under the Welfare Services Department. Besides the traditionally defined basic needs requirements, a host of other programs are being sponsored under family preparedness. They include vocational planning and employment; mental, physical and social well-being; sound finances, including the avoidance of unnecessary debt.

The underlying philosophy of the church welfare program is that it remains a precursor to the system of C&S and that the latter would only be introduced as the membership demonstrated its willingness to live up to the requirements of the welfare program.

The significance of the welfare services program in the church is assuming greater importance as the membership growth accelerates throughout the world and particularly in

Third World countries. Besides substantial transfers to finance health care and educational services in these economically deprived areas, the church leadership is in the process of formulating plans that would further aid these people to achieve greater economic welfare and self-sufficiency.

As such, the underlying philosophy of the Church Welfare Program is that it remains a precursor to Smith's ideal. Although many would demur from the optimism herein implied concerning the actual contribution that the Mormon system might make in the future, it should not be neglected as a conceptual alternative, nor should there be an under-rating of the fact that actual transfers are taking place and plans are being formulated for more ambitious undertakings. This commitment to an ideal, no matter how difficult the task and how resistant the potential reaction, must be judged essential if progress toward economic equality and self-determination is ever to achieve anything beyond an idealist's Utopian dream.

What follows in this study is an attempt to shed additional light upon the philosophical and operational organization of C&S as an alternative economic system.

## Chapter IV

## C&S AS A SOCIAL CONTRACT: THEOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS

The ideological basis of C&S is firmly rooted in Mormon theology and, as such, is intended to represent both a determinant of the structural system as well as its true motivation.

Too often confusion, contradictions and some frivolous utopianizing has been wrought by students of comparative systems (real or conceptual) by neglecting to investigate, in more than a casual way, what the basic value-premises are that lie at the heart of the system under investigation. This neglect is beginning to be remedied, however, as more and more attention is devoted to the importance of a system's ideology; that is, the set of more or less consistent ideas, beliefs and values which are generally held by members of a society, which serve as guides for action within that society, and which represent the basis for a system's institutional organization and arrangements.

Without delving into the difficulties of defining and locating what has been called an ideology, it should be noted that two general types have been distinguished in the literature.[1] The first, an "official dominant or

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[1]See, for example, the exchange between Alexander Gerschenkron and Albert O. Hirshman on "Ideology as a System Determinant" in Alexander Eckstein, ed., Comparison of

pro-status-quo" ideology, seeks to maintain a system while the other, an "insurgent or advocate" ideology, seeks to alter it. Both types are to be found in most societies, interacting with each other and variously influencing or being influenced by the society's development. Indeed, many system altering ideologies have emerged precisely because of the recognition of the dichotomy between what is and what should be (or was intended) and, as such, represent a force for reaffirming the original value-base and remaking the system.

A difficulty for interpreters is the degree to which the official values of a particular society are held by its members. "A child," as Locke has argued, "is born a subject of no country or government" and unless he or she is given the opportunity of actively expressing approval of the value-base, or moving elsewhere, this could lead to a diminished sense of responsibility towards those values, opening the way for deviant forms of behavior that are in basic violation of the original ideology. Therefore, the absence of a high level of ideological activity where conscientious efforts are successfully made to educate continually its polity; to inculcate and pass on its values with explicit and regular renewal of them by the consent of its members, could do severe damage to the preservation of its values. That is, to some extent, even true for a society that has been founded upon, and is characterized by, a highly

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Economic Systems (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), pp. 269-299.

authoritarian state. The danger here, of course, is that consent would lose its meaning as a democratic principle if it represented nothing more than acquiescence or habitual, complacent obedience wrought out of fear of the consequences of doing otherwise; leading to the tyrannical subjugation of its members and the domination of an ideology held by few of its members.

Recognizing its importance, we will in this chapter identify the ideological (or theological) foundations of C&S. As an "advocate" type it contains a set of ideas and beliefs concerning man and woman's origin and destiny; their relationship to God and each other; and their relationship to the biological, mineral and vegetable environments on earth. Moreover, it contains values which are fundamental in shaping the attitude and behavior of its people towards their total environment.

It is conceded at the outset that without an understanding of these values and an initial widespread commitment to them by its members, C&S as a system would represent nothing less than a Utopian dream rather than a practical Topia.

Following this more general discussion of C&S's theological foundations, we will attempt to show that the ideas and values contained therein represent the formation of a binding social contract which has social justice as its primary criterion and which is to serve as the system's chief institutional cornerstone. After completing

this task, it remains for the following chapters to describe the institutional superstructure and the actual intended operation of a C&S system.

## The Theological Foundations of C&S

Intelligences--what Mormons call the eternal individual--have always existed. Because they had no beginning, neither will there be an end to their existence. They have always been and will continue to be unique individuals, possessing autonomy, consciousness and a capacity for development in every sphere in which they find themselves.[2] Their development through beginningless time was from mind (intelligence); to mind and spirit combined; and then to the (at first mortal, and then inseparably resurrected) tri-unity of mind, spirit and body; all of which are material in varying degrees of refinement and in their perfected state are of equal worth.[3]

The God of this world, for there are worlds without number and by implication other gods as well,[4] is literally the Father of our spirits. As literal offspring of Heavenly Parents, humankind has planted within them the seeds of Godhood. This means that men and women are perfectible beings and have the potential of becoming gods. Brigham Young taught the principle that "as God was, so are we now;

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[2]Truman G. Madsen, Eternal Man (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Co., 1966), p. 25.

[3]Ibid., p. 45. See also D&C 131:7-8.

[4]See "The Book of Moses" 1:33, The Pearl of Great Price.

as he is now, so shall we be."[5] This radical theology does not denigrate the status of God but elevates the great possibilities for mankind, and to show that God himself has travelled a course identical to that mankind has covered--and much more: He, of course, is and will continue to be eons of time ahead of His children as He continues to progress in His particular sphere.

That mankind has the possibility of becoming as God, however, does not guarantee it. Free agency is vouchsafed to all intelligences in every sphere of existence. Yet each sphere is bounded by universal laws, and only when these are learned and obeyed may its inhabitants advance to higher spheres. Although immortality is inevitable and universal for all intelligences, the degree of their advance is conditional on performance, i.e., obeying universal law.[6]

## Mankind in Their Premortal Spirit State

As spirit children of God in their immediate premortal state, mankind learned that, to continue their eternal advancement, it was essential to have their spirits embodied in mortal tabernacles, fashioned after the likeness of God

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[5]Joseph Smith's clearest statements in this regard are found in the funeral sermon known as the King Follet Discourse. Brigham Young's couplet, cited above, was restated in the form it is most widely known today--"as man is, God once was; and as God is, man may become"--by the Fifth President of the L.D.S. church, Lorenzo Snow.

[6]Mormon theology teaches that every kingdom (sphere) is joyful to the extent of the individual's capacity (D&C 76).

the Father and/or their heavenly Mother.[7] Furthermore, all were to learn and obey the laws of mortal existence and to love the good in and for itself, if they were to ensure maximum individual development.

Although the importance of obtaining a physical body was universally recognized, there was a sharp split among God's children concerning what the conditions of mortality should be. Two very opposite plans were proposed, each by a "great" spirit child of God. The first was advanced by Lucifer, who suggested that, in the absence of mankind's knowledge of their premortal state, mortal life would carry a high risk. His solution was one of coercion and selfishness. He would simply force everyone to abide by the laws of mortal existence. Besides the power to coerce, Lucifer was motivated by ambition for glory and fame.

The second plan was set forth by Jesus Christ, who was God's first born in the spirit. He knew that free agency was a necessary condition for human progress, one to be preserved and protected at all costs. With free agency, though, Christ recognized that many might fail to abide by the laws of their mortal existence and run the risk of losing much here and in the eternities ahead. His proposal, then, was to offer Himself as a <u>sacrifice</u> for the rest of God's children. If mankind, upon recognizing their waywardness, would turn away from such disobedience and begin again

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[7]See "O My Father," Mormon hymn by Eliza R. Snow (Salt Lake City, Utah: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints), p. 139.

to abide by "eternal" laws, Christ's merciful sacrifice would effectively satisfy the justice of the laws. No coercion was to exist--only gentle persuasion through his spiritual influence on mankind's mortal soul.[8] Moreover, Christ was not self-seeking when He offered his program for humanity's advancement. He knew that His Father's work, joy, glory and fulfillment consisted in helping His children attain immortality and eternal life.[9]

What ensued was a war (of some sort) between the advocates of coercion and those of free agency. Christ's freedom plan won, with two-thirds of God's children electing to follow it. They were given the opportunity of being born somewhere and sometime during the earth's existence. The remaining third, including Lucifer, refused to accept the possibility of any plan but their own, disqualified themselves from a temporal existence, and thereby confined themselves to eternity as unembodied spirits.

The question settled, God commissioned Christ to direct the process of organizing the elements in space into a fit habitation for His children's mortal existence. The animal and vegetable creations in their infinite variety were given to humanity for their blessing. Each was to fulfill the purpose of its creation. Each had been created in spiritual form before coming here. Yet only mankind are

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[8]"Soul" in Mormon theology refers to the spirit and body combined. See D&C 121; 88:15.

[9]"The Book of Moses" 1:39. Pearl of Great Price (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, many editions).

gods in embryo, and only mankind can exercise an option for or against their eternal potential. For a choice to be made, however, opposition was an essential part of earth life, just as it existed in mankind's premortal state.

Thus even Lucifer and his angels have a place within the divine economy. Their plan having been rejected, themselves having limited their own possibilities, these immortal spirits have been about this earth since the time of Adam, to tempt, persuade and entice mankind away from their greatest and grandest potential.[10] Christ is working in the opposite direction. By his Spirit which is given to all mankind, and through His prophets from Adam to the present, happier, more fulfilling and eternally more promising life alternatives are extended. Joseph Smith taught, however, that "All is voluntary. . . . God will not exert any compulsory means and the Devil [Lucifer] cannot."[11]

## The Alternatives on Earth

Here we will briefly summarize the broad principles which characterize the opposing plans (Lucifer's and Christ's) offered to mankind, according to Mormon beliefs.

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[10]An ancient American prophet, Lehi, provides the dialectic concerning the need for opposition between good and evil. See 2 Nephi 2, The Book of Mormon, pp. 52-55.

[11]See Hugh Nibley, "Man's Dominion," The New Era (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Press, October 1972), p. 28.

Lucifer's Plan

The similarities between Lucifer's original proposal and his present approach are remarkable. He is bent on destroying mankind's happiness here and in future time. His basic theme is comprised of the following misrepresentations and inducements: (1) He (Lucifer) is the owner and God of this world; (2) but he is willing to divide it by selling it all to anyone for money; (3) and for anyone who so acquires wealth, it will be a source of buying "military and political power" which will guarantee even more wealth and power with which to rule "or rather misrule, among the children of man."[12]

Specific kinds of beliefs and justifiable behavior emerge from the above. They are: (1) This is the only life for mankind--death ends their existence--(Alma 30:18); (2) therefore the strong should conquer the weak--survival of the fittest--through a justifiable system of laissez-faire (Alma 30:17).[13] (3) Because the earth belongs to the (powerful) living, no thought is to be given to the poor or to rising generations. It is no crime to take from the poor nor is it necessary to attend to their needs. Not only is humanity not to feel that they are their "brother's keeper" in the intra-generational sense, but no thought is to be

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[12]Ibid., p. 28. See also Hugh Nibley, "Brigham Young on the Environment," in To the Glory of God--Mormon Essays on Great Issues (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Co., 1972), p. 24.

[13]See The Book of Mormon for Alma 30:17-18, p. 270.

given to subsequent generations. Therefore, it is permissible to take from the earth what one wants--even to making war on, destroying and exhausting the animal, vegetable and mineral creations.[14] The goals of power, fame and wealth breed vanity, intolerance, uncharity, envy, strife, malice and persecution. But there is no crime in any such behavior.

## Christ's Plan

The alternative to the promise of worldly fame, power and wealth was Christ's plan of service and love to one's fellows, the earth, and the rest of its creatures. All who would inhabit the earth affirmatively and unanimously accepted this plan in their premortal existence. The specifics of this plan are briefly summarized below:

(1) The earth belongs to God who created (organized) it (D&C 104:14).

(2) His purpose in creating the earth was to provide for all of God's children the wherewithal for a sufficient abundance in food, fuel, clothing, and housing.

(3) Furthermore, the beauty of the earth's creations was, by design, to "please the eye and to gladden the heart. . . . and to enliven the soul" (D&C 59:16-19).

(4) His plan rejected inequality in possession of the earth's resources. Equality in distribution was global; otherwise ". . . the world lieth in sin" (D&C 49:19-21). The

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[14] See Nibley, "Man's Dominion," p. 30.

basis of an equal distribution was according to families, circumstances, needs and wants (D&C 51:30), ". . . inasmuch as wants are just" (D&C 82:17).

(5) The earth's resources were created for a fixed population (the two-thirds of God's children who unanimously assented to Christ's plan in their premortal state). Therefore, "the earth is full, and there is enough and to spare" (D&C 104:15-17) for all generations of God's children. This provision, though, was conditional on two other requirements. First, use of the world's resources was to be based on need, "with judgment, not to excess, neither by extortion" (D&C 59:20). Any use over and above needs was considered wasteful and was not to be condoned. Second, mankind was to be "fruitful and multiply" so that all of God's children would be guaranteed a mortal existence. But in so doing they were also to "replenish the earth and subdue it, and have dominion over" every living thing in the biosphere (Abraham 4:28, Pearl of Great Price). This command to Adam, as pointed out by Hugh Nibley, was based on the earth's being a "storehouse and source of life." Adam and, by implication, all generations, were to keep the earth "replenished" (filled)[15] for subsequent generations to enjoy.

(6) An additional requirement, based on the law of eternal progression, went beyond mere replacement.

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[15]Ibid., p. 25. Brigham Young explains that while "subduing the earth" we must be "multiplying those organisms of plants and animals God has designed shall dwell upon it" Journal of Discourses, Vol. 9, p. 168.

Specifically it was "the improvement of the condition of the human family." Brigham Young stated it:

> There is a great work for the Saints to do. Progress, and improve upon, and make beautiful everything around you. Cultivate the earth and cultivate your minds. Build cities, adorn your habitations, make gardens, orchards, and vineyards, and render the earth so pleasant that when you look upon your labors you may do so with pleasure and that angels may delight to come and visit your beautiful locations.[16]

This requirement, to build a better future, also presumed restorative activities[17] with respect to eradicating physical and social environmental blight.

It was directed both to the person and the physical environment and included an elimination of worker alienation and the substitution of creative and fulfilling work experience.[18]

Moreover, restitution here goes beyond building better future conditions for rising unborn generations. It involves passing on to past generations of mortals (now in another sphere) sacred rights and privileges, essential for their eternal advancement, which they were unable to do for themselves because of the injustices of their particular (worldly) generations.

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[16] Journal of Discourses, Vol. 8, p. 83, 1860.

[17] Joseph Smith taught: "The greatest acts of mighty men have been disastrous. Before them the world was a paradise, and behind them a desolate wilderness. . . . The designs of God, on the other hand" are that "the earth shall yield its increase, resume its paradisean glory, and become as the Garden of the Lord." See Joseph Smith, Times and Seasons, 3:855-858 (July 1842). Quoted in Hugh Nibley, "Brigham Young and the Environment," p. 7. See Appendix II-J.

[18] See Appendix II-F for Brigham Young's views.

Mormonism also teaches that the earth will again be inhabited by "good" people of all generations (in the millennium and thereafter) and that, therefore, it remains the responsibility of present and future generations to begin the work of restoring the earth for this event. There is good logic in this forward and backward looking view of inter-temporal justice.

Christ's plan, then, was the antithesis of Lucifer's. He gave mankind dominion over the world as stewards only. That is, the world was entrusted to their care. They could use what was needed, but no more. In taking from the earth humanity came under the sacred obligation of distributing its wealth equally, replacing that which they used, and building for a better future. The earth was not given to mankind to use as a source of power and control over their fellow beings. Justice, then, was intra- and inter-temporally defined. Brigham Young taught the principle that if mankind would not use God's good earth for the benefit of all, then they would never attain to perfection and learn to create (organize) worlds of their own.

The great test for God's children in mortality then was to choose one of the two plans--Christ's or Lucifer's. Their individual agency would always be intact. Mormon theology teaches that both alternatives were offered explicitly to Adam, Noah, Abraham and Christ, himself, when he lived as a mortal man in the meridian of time. They were presented to all of God's prophets in quite spectacular

accounts, preserved for mankind to read. Moreover, all men and women have the same alternatives offered to them in subtle ways on a regular and almost daily basis. Mormonism teaches that all God's children are perfectible and exaltable beings. But given this capacity for perfection, they also have the capacity to be devilish. In short, individuals can go infinitely far in either direction. With these two forces of good and evil in the world, humans have the free agency to decide which route to follow. Of course, for most people, elements of both are always contending for their attention and behavior. Understandably, most humans express both selfish and acquisitive behavior and at the same time exhibit social and unselfish instincts.

In summary, Mormon theology teaches that mankind's premortal state was a very real event. Those who accepted Christ's proposal did so because they preferred a plan for their mortal experience which would make them free, responsible and equal as moral persons. That is, they preferred a plan which would allow them to work out their own salvation. There was no majority vote by the two-thirds of God's children who would ultimately inhabit this earth somewhere and sometime during its existence; their agreement was unanimous. Mormonism teaches that persons in their original existence were aware of their future propensities for good and evil. Moreover, they knew of their human potential: each person had been foreordained to a particular earth mission for <u>good</u>. Foreordination should not be confused with the doctrine of

predestination, however. Whereas predestined outcomes are inevitable, foreordination is conditional, with actual outcomes to be predicated upon free choice. Since free agency was to be a fundamental basis for earth life, much information, according to Mormon belief, concerning earth life was probably denied those in their premortal state.

We should point out that the accumulation and synergistic effects on the total environment of the activities of preceding (free agent) generations, not committed to justice, speaks to the significance of the restorative requirement in C&S.

Finally, Mormonism recognizes that environment plays a significant role in conditioning people's life behavior respecting selfish and unselfish choice. This is not to say that it plays the only and final role. Humans are still capable of making radical behavior shifts in either direction. But in order to elicit the unselfishness that C&S accepts as desirable, just principles and rules formalized into a contractual scheme are required.

## Social Contract

It is now possible to place the general discussion of the value-premises of Mormon theology into the context of a social contract which has justice as its primary criterion. The social contract tradition can be traced from Locke, Rousseau and Kant and most recently has been

represented by John Rawls in his monumental Theory of Justice.[19] Before specifying the chief structural features of C&S's social contract it would be helpful to discuss briefly the relationship of a contract within a theory of justice, and in particular Rawls', to that of Mormonism's theologically based contract.

We pointed out above that the value-premises of Mormon theology are believed to have been discussed, determined and unanimously affirmed by all of the earth's inhabitants in their premortal state as the most just scheme for their mortal lives. In a limited sense, Mormonism's belief in a premortal state can be likened to Rawls' conceptual device of an "original position." Here, according to Rawls' postulate, members of a society, or at least (by implication) representatives, from all generations convene behind a hypothetical "veil of ignorance" to discuss and unanimously establish principles of justice and constitutional rules that would be regarded as just for all future time and circumstances in the real world (non-original position). The simulation of the original position taken by Rawls is a very inviting approach. To establish principles of justice in the non-original position might lead people to biased perspectives and postulates that

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[19] John Rawls, A Theory of Justice (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1971). Rawls' original article, "Justice as Fairness," appeared in The Journal of Philosophy 54(22) (October 24, 1957). Another very useful article by Rawls, in which he clarifies some of his arguments in A Theory of Justice, is "Reply to Alexander and Musgrave," Quarterly Journal of Economics 88 (1974).

are extensions of their contemporary positions and circumstances. Rawls, therefore, assumes that the parties in the original position, although possessing "general information provided by natural science and social theory--are deprived of certain morally irrelevant information in order for fairness to exist among free and morally equal persons." "For example," states Rawls,

> they do not know their place in society, their class position or social status, their fortune in the distribution of natural talents and abilities, their deeper aims and interests, or finally, their particular psychological make-ups. And to insure fairness between generations--they do not know to which generation they belong and thus information about natural resources, the level of productive techniques, and the like, is also forbidden to them. Excluding this knowledge is necessary if no one is to be advantaged or disadvantaged by natural contingencies and social chance in the adoption of just principles.[20]

Furthermore, Rawls advances two motivational postulates for the parties in the original position. The first is that the actors are rational and the second is that they are not altruistic. The second condition means that each person wishes to further his or her own "conception of the good," without knowing precisely--under the denial of certain knowledge--what that conception contains.

This description of the original position, according to Rawls, satisfies two conditions: the first is that it must be a fair situation; that is, each person is subject

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[20]Rawls, "Reply," pp. 637-638.

to the "veil of ignorance," and the second is that the "parties" are to be conceived as members of a well-ordered society.[21] The notion of fairness represents for Rawls the fundamental concept of justice, though little has been said at this point as to what the specific content of the principles of justice would be. Rather, the account of the original position is to bring together the conception of fairness and the values expressed by the notion of a well-ordered society.

It is important that no a priori argument for the principles of justice is advanced by Rawls; only that individuals find themselves in fair circumstances and are, to begin with, willing and able to act fairly. That is, "justice is a fundamental moral concept arising directly from reciprocal relations of persons engaging in common practices, and its principles those which persons similarly circumstanced could mutually acknowledge."[22]

It is significant that Rawls begins his argument from the existence of a social contract. From this state of fairness Rawls argues that persons would then be aided in selecting between alternative principles of justice which when mutually decided upon would transfer fairness to the principles themselves.[23]

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[21]Ibid., p. 638. See also pp. 631-637 for a discussion of the notion of a well-ordered society.

[22]Rawls, "Justice as Fairness."

[23]"Rawls, "Reply," p. 637.

The constraints on the original position allow Rawls to narrow the consideration of certain conceptions of justice from which a final selection would be made. In short, those which are selected as being, for example, superior to the want-satisfaction variant of utilitarianisms are in "lexical" order:

> (1) Each person has an equal right to the most extensive scheme of equal basic liberties compatible with a similar scheme of liberties for all.
> (2) Social and economic inequalities are to meet two conditions: they must be (a) to the greatest expected benefit of the least advantaged (the maximum criterion) and (b) attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity.[24]

Here Rawls advances three leading elements of justice: liberty, equality and reward for contributions to the common advantage.[25] These must be constrained, however, by the requirement of a just savings principle.

For Mormons, however, and unlike Rawls, a "veil of ignorance" about mankind's past state has been drawn across their minds so that they do not remember it. Therefore a theological claim to universal principles of justice is necessarily made.

This a priori and primary justification of the need for a social contract is based on the Mormon view that men and women were created with a capacity for perfection; but

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[24] Ibid., p. 639.

[25] Rawls, "Justice as Fairness." The "maximum criterion" in A Theory of Justice is a somewhat modified form of "contributions to the common advantage" which first appeared in Rawls' article.

that free agency could be exercised against that potential. Because both good and evil enter the picture people may not choose to act fairly, because of the conditioning to which they are exposed, thus giving rise for the need of the social contract which, when freely accepted, means self-imposed controls on one's behavior. If people were perfected, there would, of course, be no need for a social contract.

The starting point for Rawls, however, is that humans desire to act fairly. That is, in the original position social and psychological conditioning is veiled. Persons here possess an original and equal equality and the contract arises out of their mutual relations. The fact that people act as if no conditioning has taken place allows Rawls to get by the problem of evil and conditioning forces.

Since, however, Mormons accept and believe their original existence to have been a very real experience, as much as they believe any other of their theological tenets, they therefore accept (or should) the proposition that C&S, because it was accepted there as the most just of all possible plans for earth life, should also be embraced and fostered now.[26]

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[26]In one sense the social contract in Mormon theology can be thought to be derived from a kind of higher order executive decision, which would, when actively assented to, suggest "a rational being with ideal desires overlaying his animal appetites and his social conditioning." This form of utilitarianism is clearly superior, as part of a just scheme, to that of the simple want-satisfaction variant of utilitarianism. See Sidney S. Alexander, "Social Evaluation Through National Choice," Quarterly Journal of Economics 88 (1974), p. 599.

This belief has an inherent appeal and should be a powerful motivating force in generating reasonable argument concerning the justice of C&S; that is to test Mormonism's belief about the pre-existence through renewal of its social contract. This inherent appeal represents the second level of justification for C&S and, in a sense, gives support to its theological justification.

There are, of course, problems when one begins and ends only from a theological position. To posit non-negotiable givens on the authority of purportedly divine revelation makes everything vulnerable to criticism because a person is necessarily forced into a position of belief or non-belief. It is the inherent appeal which makes it essential and only possible to employ reasonable arguments concerning whether or not the justice characteristics that are advanced as theological tenets really do conform to a well-ordered and just society.

Rawls' theory, like any other theory of justice, is susceptible to criticism by virtue of the assumptions that are made. This is not to be sharply critical of Rawls or others, however. To talk about justice substantively and analytically is difficult and, indeed, requires fundamental assumptions in order for any degree of rigor to be achieved. What is essential here, too, and ultimately only possible is to subject the principles of justice that finally emerge to critical examination. Are they principles that an impartial person or "ideal observer" would adopt?

In short, the principles of justice that C&S posits are broadly similar to those which Rawls advances, though they derive from different conceptions of an original position. For C&S they include, as we have seen, equal liberties, economic equality and a very strong just savings and investment principle. However, the institutional and operational criteria of these principles are quite different from those postulated by Rawls. It remains for us to spell out in more detail what for C&S these special criteria entail.

## Institutional and Operational Criteria of Justice under C&S

The elements of justice embodied in the Social Contract include decision making processes that guarantee universal participation in both the economic and political spheres. They also include broad principles or desired end states that give direction to and place constraints on the decision making process with a view to assuring that the resulting decisions will be just. This is so because it is not sufficient to assume that a participatory decision making process would always lead to just decisions, especially where intertemporal justice is at issue.

C&S seeks to achieve a consensus on values and recognizes that this is only possible when those who participate in the consensus deliberately and reflectively embrace the values in question. Every member, upon entering the system, accepts the contract voluntarily, on an individually reasoned

basis. Ritualistic outward expressions of pledging allegiance or covenanting to uphold the contract are explicitly and regularly renewed by all members of the system. For those born to parents who are members of C&S, ambitious efforts commence early in their lives to internalize these values. They, too, must ultimately become accountable by consenting to the contract in an identically deliberate and reflective way; otherwise it could be argued convincingly that the contract has been imposed. The latter argument can never really be escaped unless a system does not seek to socialize the young.

Although the acceptance of Mormon principles of justice, including the concomitant decision making processes, requires a consensual agreement by all who enter such a contractual scheme, it does not mean that complete unanimity is necessary for all decisions to be binding. It means, rather, that there is consensual support of the decision processes and the broad principles of justice; that is, of the functioning social system. If a particular social decision is made over the opposition of someone who disagrees with the decision but who believes that it was made through the accepted rules, and that it conforms to the other broad principles of justice, then that person is not denying that the decision is an appropriate social judgment.[27] If a person rejects a decision

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[27]There is ample evidence in the Mormon church today that those who exercise legitimate dissenting voices in regard to particular decisions, within the constraints of the contract, will nevertheless--for the most part--accept those decisions

because he or she does not believe that it was arrived at by the agreed-upon rules, then an established appeal procedure is activated to determine the correctness of the charge. If a person rejects the principles and procedures themselves, then the person has violated the contract and is free to leave the system. This, of course, implies fulfillment of an exceedingly strong assumption, namely the existence of a pluralistic world which allows full mobility out of, as well as into the system. "Mobility" here includes a <u>willingness</u> to leave on the part of the dissenters and not only <u>freedom</u> to leave; and this implies the existence of other types of social contracts or institutional forms among which a dissenter would find at least one which he or she preferred. Strong though the mobility assumption is, we accept it for present purposes in order to avoid having to discuss the implications of its nonfulfillment which would lead the argument astray. Moreover, without participation and intersystem mobility, an empirical, institutionalized value consensus would be impossible to find and illogical to postulate.

Seven operational criteria for the achievement of socioeconomic justice can now be specified and briefly elaborated upon.

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as being socially validated, and give more than passive verbal support in the full implementation of the particular decision.

(1) Decision Making Process--Common Consent. The decision making process in C&S is formally referred to as common consent. It is a logical extension of the principle that, according to Mormon belief, obtained in the pre-existence. Every member is given the right to "counsel" and "consent" at every level of organization in C&S, namely the family, the economic enterprise and the community. In this way, common consent is to be viewed as an original act when individuals assent to the contract upon entering the system. A series of repeated acts of reaffirmation of the contract is required and a continuous process of interaction between the governed and the government makes the latter responsive to the interests, demands and initiatives of its members. In short, common consent embodies the idea of popular participation in the exercise of political and economic authority.[28] It represents a very strong and active form of consent in the sense that it includes elements of deliberation, choice, decision, permission and initiative. It should not, however, be confused with democratic majority-rule. Not only is participation guaranteed to all but discussion regarding specific policy decisions is to be kept open, with appropriate modifications made, to move the community toward a consensus. This process, coupled with the

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[28] See D&C 26:2; 28:13; 104:21, 71. Mosiah, an ancient American king, emphasized the importance of government by a well-informed participating public. In his words, "Now it is not common that the voice of the people desireth anything contrary to that which is right; but it is common for the lesser part of the people to desire that which is not right; therefore this shall ye observe and make it your law--to do your business by the voice of the people" (Mosiah 29:26, The Book of Mormon).

constraints implicit in the other just principles, is intended to minimize the possibility of a majority abusing the interests of a minority. Indeed these other just principles, enumerated below, can be viewed as a bill of rights which are removed from majority regulation altogether. Combined with open discussion and modifications of proposals a consensus could, at least, be asymptotically achieved. It would lead the majority principle, which must as a practical necessity be relied upon to some degree, to something greater than a bare majority.

Furthermore, to talk about a system of consent where a substantial level of participation exists in the policy and decision making process and where people have the opportunity to express openly their approval of, or permission for, policies to be put into effect, implies also the freedom to dissent. Within the constraints of the other just principles there would more than likely be significant latitude in the formation and kinds of particular policy decisions. If dissent can be expressed freely and openly it could be argued that consent would be achieved over a wider area. Larger numbers of people with permissibly distinct interests and claims would be more effectively taken into account in the decision making process. More will be said about common consent in the context of the system's operation below.

(2) Global Distribution. Justice in the distribution of the earth's resources, according to C&S, is not to be

restricted to particular political boundaries or nation states. Rather, C&S extends the boundary to the whole of mankind who, by virtue of being born, are entitled to a distribution which is based on equality. The definition of equality is based on the family unit--not the individual--with larger families deserving the same per capita income as smaller ones under similar circumstances and needs. Basic needs would include the consumption of food, clothing, housing, fuel, health care, education and the like.

Variations in circumstances and thus needs would require differential treatment in terms of distribution. For example, if the family works as a unit, then those whose caloric output is larger, that is, where physically and intellectually mature individuals expend higher efforts, should be recognized as having a higher level of needs (basic consumption). An implicit corollary to the above is the requirement that neither the young nor the old should be required to work so strenuously as those at their physical and intellectual prime; that is all of humankind should be industrious according to circumstances. Individuals whose physical and/or mental disabilities would place impossible demands on their lives would be partially or wholly exempted from work. This, of course, should in no way prejudice their standard of living. Those who suffer from particular illnesses should be provided the best care available in order to make their lives comfortable and, where possible, to ensure their speedy recovery.

Although occupations are to be made personally fulfilling and as hazardless as feasible, the inevitable differences should be given special consideration. A hazardous or disagreeable job, for example, might entitle a steward to a shorter work week. This could also be handled by some system of sharing in the performance of dangerous or unpleasant but necessary undertakings.[29]

Furthermore, variations in basic needs would obtain in different communities throughout the world because of climate and culture. These special circumstances should be identified by the communities in question and their right to preserve their cultural heritage and satisfy their basic needs should be upheld.

Finally, and related to the above, uniformity in consumption should be eschewed. Variety and diversity within and among C&S communities and families is regarded as desirable. Once a standard of living has been defined and determined as so much income per capita weighted to take account of variable member needs, individuals and families are to be given the freedom to choose what they want to consume from the consensually approved aggregate supply of consumer goods and services (see Chapters V and VI).

(3) Work. Work is considered to be both necessary and an obligation and an opportunity. Therefore the returns to work should be based on the values specified above and

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[29]See Appendix II-F for Brigham Young's views.

not on the values implicit in the impersonal forces of supply and demand operating through a market mechanism as some economists are wont to prefer. A person's moral worth should in no way be predicated upon the vagaries of unfettered market forces.[30]

(4) Employment. Work, as already implied, should be guaranteed to (as it is required of) all who are capable of it. This requirement calls for a deliberate and active level of community economic planning. Within the constraints of the plan, however, freedom in occupational choice should be protected.

(5) Economic Growth. In a just society, economic growth in strictly physical terms is permissible. Indeed, C&S encourages the accumulation of social wealth for each generation so long as it is bounded by the currently equitable distribution as defined above and by the distribution between generations (defined below). Since the world contains a known but changeable resource base at any time, diminishing physical returns may be offset by the reproduction and expansion of replaceable resources and through the application of technological discoveries, which further alter and expand the "world's resource spectrum."[31] Where diminishing

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[30]See Appendix II-G.

[31]This is true also for resources known to be exhaustible. See Chandler Morse, "National Sources of Economic Growth: The Qualitative Problem," in H. L. Amoss and R. K. McNickle, eds., Land and Water: Planning for Economic Growth, Western Resources Economic Conference, 1961 (Boulder, Colorado: University of Colorado Press, 1962). See Appendix II-K.

returns cannot be avoided or escaped through substitution a crucial question of inter-temporal justice must be faced and resolved (see below).

(6) Environment. Constraints on physical growth are based on the requirement that scrupulous attention be paid to the qualitative dimensions of life. The latter can be specified at four levels: (a) equality in the distribution of output is to be guaranteed; (b) deleterious environmental externalities are to be avoided; (c) a high quality of output is to be fostered; and (d) a high quality in the conditions of work is to be sought.[32]

(7) Inter-Temporal Justice. A crucial element in the social contract can be stated quite simply at first. Each generation is responsible, at the least, to pass on to the next generation a potential level of social welfare productivity that is equal on a per capita and distributive basis to what it inherited from the previous generation.[33] To the extent that a particular generation satisfies this requirement and still has a residual surplus, it is permissible for that generation to increase its own level of social consumption so long as this increase is bounded by and through the preceding six elements of justice. As for

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[32] See Appendix II-J. See H. Nibley, "Brigham Young on the Environment."

[33] Chandler Morse, "National Sources of Economic Growth," p. 25.

resources that are known to be exhaustible, great care should be taken not to exhaust them without providing future generations with the necessary alternative technologies and equivalent replacement resources. When uncertainty is considerable regarding the exhaustion and the replacement of resources and the negative externalities of alternatives, contemporary consumption increases should be sacrificed until alternatives and their effects are known. Although our specification here is highly abstract, it is substantially at odds with the modern neoclassical efficiency cost-benefit approach which implicitly assumes that the earth belongs to the living. C&S, however, holds that the earth belongs to the living in usufruct only; accordingly the social contract denies the possibility of a strictly defined system of private or state property as is understood and practiced today--both in Western Capitalist and in Eastern Socialist societies.

It should be pointed out that in this prescription of a just savings and investment principle which, at the least, requires passing on to the next generation the productive and quality equivalent of what has been inherited, does not of itself mandate the correction of what past generations, not committed to justice, have bequeathed in terms of the total physical, social, psychological and economic environments. However, as was pointed out in the discussion on Mormon theology, inter-temporal justice requires considerable undoing and renovation of both physical and social conditions, so that some part of the

social surplus should be allocated to this task.

Having stated the basic institutional and operational[34] principles that comprise C&S's social contract, we are now prepared to spell out the institutional forms through which justice may be achieved. These, too, according to Mormon belief, did not evolve by human design but rather were spelled out by the same process of "revelation" as were the other principles of justice. Together they make up the total reality of C&S as a socioeconomic system. In embracing these institutional forms, Mormons are accepting what already was designed and accepted in humanity's premortal state.

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[34]Appendix II-J.

## Chapter V

## C&S AS AN INSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM

The revelations to the prophet Joseph Smith regarding the institutional arrangement of C&S were not spelled out in their entirety at one particular time, but piece-meal, as part of several "visions"--dealing also with other questions--over a several year period. Moreover, the Mormon leader prescribed the system of C&S nearly a century and a half ago when America was still predominantly an agrarian economy with mainly small craft industries.

This poses special problems for someone who is attempting to describe that system today. The first problem is to select from the "revelations" what was explicitly stated concerning C&S and to organize these statements topically under broad categories that should characterize any socioeconomic system.[1]

Another problem is to choose between relating these revelations to an intended but real C&S economic system of today or to describe it within the context of the early nineteenth century American economic environment. The choice

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[1]The revelations in the Doctrine and Covenants which deal specifically with C&S are included, as a convenience to the reader, in Appendix I. They will be organized there under topical headings rather than in the chronological order as they were received. Where appropriate, however, references to the revelations will be cited as footnotes in this chapter.

made here, and the one to be followed in the remainder of this dissertation, is to describe a modern-day version of a C&S system. This choice has been made for two reasons. First, the revelations concerning C&S, we would argue, can be logically generalized to apply to most any stage of historical development and within the framework of many cultural variants. The second reason derives from the belief and intentions of Mormondom that C&S is to be implemented in the future. It should be emphasized at the outset, however, that our concern will not be directed towards the actual evolution of forms in the transition to C&S. Though a discussion of this sort is of fundamental importance in developing a strategy for implementation it goes beyond the scope of the present study. We will, therefore, concentrate upon an understanding of C&S in its "ideal" form.

Admittedly, much interpretation and elaboration of the "revelations" will be necessary. Though they represent an adequate preliminary architectural blueprint, many of the characteristics of C&S were spelled out only vaguely or not at all. It is our hope, however, that the conceptual perspective taken in the following discussion will be consistent with the revelations and internally logical with the total reality of C&S.

It is appropriate that we begin by more clearly defining the terms by which the system is known. The word consecration by itself means the act of consecrating; that is to devote or dedicate to some purpose. For the system

of C&S, that purpose is to build and preserve the principles of justice explained in the previous chapter; principles to which individuals will give of their time, talents and economic resources. Although a high degree of altruism is assumed, manifesting itself in intrinsically motivated and ritually reinforced unselfish behavior, the institutional forms of C&S, as we shall see, are so designed to condition and elicit such desirable behavior and, as such, are mutually compatible with the principles contained in the social contract.

The term stewardship is the non-personal form of the noun steward where the latter is taken to mean a person who is custodian or agent, charged with the responsibility of managing the property or affairs of another or others. This property and/or these affairs becomes the stewardship unit, which in C&S exists at three levels--namely the family, the economic enterprise and the community. Every person, man, woman and child, upon becoming a member of the system, at an appropriate age in each case, assumes the role of a steward in each of these units; roles which can be more generally classified under the headings of consumer, producer and citizen. One of the fundamental tenets of the stewardship structure is that each steward is to be <u>equal</u> with others in the performance of these customary functions in social life. The term equality, however, is defined here

to mean equality in terms of both rights and responsibilties.[2]

Equality as a consumer, as discussed before, means that family circumstances, basic needs and legitimate wants will be accounted for in the distribution. Combined with this right to receive incomes based on these equity criteria is the freedom of individuals to participate in articulating and defining what form basic consumption needs take, as well as the freedom to consume "legitimate wants." Both of the above imply consumer freedom under constrained conditions.

Equality as a producer means that all persons capable of work are entitled to the use of the means of production under the same conditions. These conditions are: (1) the social ownership of the means of production; (2) the right to a stewardship; and (3) the right and responsibility to manage production; that is, to participate in the entrepreneurial function.

Equality as a citizen means that a high level and form of political democracy must characterize political decision making. Indeed, without the equality in production and consumption, political equality would be less than real and effective.

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[2]A similar classification of these three equalities as basic characteristics of a self-managed socialist economy is offered by Branko Horvat, "An Institutional Model of Self-Managed Socialist Economy," in Branko Horvat, Mihailo Markovié, and Rudi Supek II, eds., Self-Governing Socialism: A Reader, pp. 308-310. Horvat's approach is helpful in situating the revelations dealing with C&S's institutional characteristics.

Moreover, civic and religious freedom is to be guaranteed to each member of the community. No one is compelled to belong to the Mormon church or to share in its religious beliefs as a requirement to be a member of this socioeconomic order. The only mandate for non-Mormons would be to accept the contents of the social contract as constitutional rules.

It is from the social contract that all three conditions of equality emerge as essential definitional characteristics of the stewardship structure.

It should be emphasized, however, that the equality conceived of here is not intended to imply sameness or conformity in unessential matters. Variety and diversity in production, consumption and cultural life is intended to be fostered in such a system. Indeed, the full development of the individual's human capacity, without exploitation, is its greatest objective. Conformity, by free choice, to the just principles and the system's working rules and institutional arrangements is intended to foster that development.

We should also point out that within the mode of organization of the stewardship structure are varying levels of nominal leadership that carry with them specifically defined functions for the stewards who occupy those positions. The right to perform these functions is granted directly by the consent of those who are to be led in any particular instance, yet it is as much the latter's right and responsibility, as it is the leader's, to see to it that the

appropriate functions are carried out. This implies an active involvement, on the part of all, to cooperate with and mutually support each other in fulfilling the responsibilities mandated by each position. Under no circumstances is one position, leadership or otherwise, to be considered inferior or superior to another in terms of the prestige attached to the office or, as stated before, the economic rewards given to the holder of the office. It is not a question of where or what a steward works at but rather one of how. Of course, in answering the question of how a steward is to perform his or her responsibilities we come full circle in the definition of C&S, ending where we began, with the notion of consecrating one's all in attaining a just society.

In short, C&S is defined as a fully decentralized self-managed system. So long as its correct principles are voluntarily and irrevocably upheld, individuals are left to govern themselves. At C&S's highest level of development, individual stewards are to be agents unto themselves, having the freedom to act rather than being acted upon within each of their social roles. To the extent that the system falls short of providing to individuals the equalities spoken of then defects in the system exist.

This, necessarily requires an elaboration of these three equalities as they would specifically appear in the socioeconomic and political framework of C&S.

## Consumer Equality

To better understand the meaning of the concept of consumer equality, it can be approached by comparing it to the individualistic welfare premise of neoclassical economics which asserts that the individual is the best judge of his or her own welfare. From this emerges the system of consumers' sovereignty. In operational terms, consumer sovereignty, when reduced to its basic elements, means essentially that the objective data found in a society are a manifestation of the subjective evaluations of individual consumers. The ideological basis for preferring a system of consumer sovereignty is to give maximum freedom to individuals in expressing for themselves their subjective demands. In its extreme, the initial distribution that begins the process of consumers freely spending their incomes is given by market forces of the previous period. In a free market system there is really no place for collective consumer sovereignty. When it is permitted, however, severe problems are created for the smooth and spontaneous operation of the market system. The case in point is the well-known "public-goods" problem and the necessity it creates for collective (political) decisions for which neoclassical welfare economics has no procedure.

For C&S, on the other hand, a social welfare premise exists which says that the objective data to be found in society are a manifestation of the subjective collective evaluation of consumers. Collective consumer sovereignty, however, does not abrogate the individual's freedom of choice.

First, individuals freely assent to the social contract; a decision that is based on the individual's subjective evaluation of what is best for his/her welfare. With regard to consumption the social contract contains the following items: (1) the right to a distribution based on the equity criteria spoken of above; (2) the freedom of families to participate with others in a collective decision making process in determining the specific forms that needs and circumstances of each family take; (3) beyond the level of basic needs, families are entitled to receive, again by collective decision, additional incomes from which they freely satisfy their family consumption styles, so long as demands are just.

In contrast to the last two points, neoclassical economics assumes that "tastes" are <u>given</u> and <u>independent</u> and that consumer sovereignty implies that the expression of these tastes through free markets and prices, without externalities, but subject to production constraints, determines the distribution of income and the product mix. Whether the given tastes and their consequences are "just" or "socially desirable" is a question that is never asked, much less answered. For this reason, it is important to recognize that collective consumer evaluation in C&S is not simply an extension of the limited notion of want-satisfaction. The social contract is an externally supplied standard of rational want-evaluation. It recognizes the effect that conditioning has upon the quality of wants and has as a basic

objective the cultivation of qualitatively "higher wants."[3]

The latter implies two kinds of constraints. First, the level of economic development and production forces will dictate the maximum level of income to be received by each family, and therefore, to some extent, the type of consumer goods which would be produced and available for sale. What is to be avoided under this scheme is the unnecessary and costly product differentiation that is so characteristic of capitalism (although search for higher quality in consumption is desired) and the undesirable effect of scarce resources being allocated away from socially desirable necessitous consumption to items of luxury consumption.

Second, some additional consumer goods would be proscribed by the social contract. They would include, for example, products which are known to be exceptionally harmful to the body and the environment.

Operating within these constraints we would find a substantial degree of individual consumer sovereignty or, more precisely, family consumer sovereignty. We emphasize the family unit here because it too represents a collective where all members should be consulted and participate on matters regarding consumption.

The socialization of children to the social contract

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[3]On this point see Appendix II-E for Brigham Young's views. See also Sidney Alexander, "Social Evaluation through National Choice," Quarterly Journal of Economics 88 (1974), p. 600.

is considered of utmost importance. It is to begin in infancy so that upon reaching an accountable age (this being eight years of age for Mormons) each child would be considered a responsible agent; responsible in the sense of understanding the content of the contract and therefore being able to decide, reflectively and voluntarily, to embrace it. As stewards they should, therefore, participate with their parents in deciding, among other things, upon matters of family consumption. C&S recognizes that success in collective decision making could be enhanced in society, if it first obtains in its basic and fundamentally important unit, the family. The cultivation of these characteristics in the family would have a positive influence upon achieving a substantial level of participation at the levels of producer and citizen.

In summary, the social welfare premise of C&S asserts that collective decision processes in which all have a voice and which approach perfect consensus asymptotically provide the best mechanism for attaining the material, ecological and distributive conditions of the social contract and which will operationally satisfy the quantitative, qualitative, and ethical needs and aspirations of all members of society under constrained conditions of free consumer choice.

Unlike neoclassical economics, which explicitly constrains consumption and determines who can and who cannot save and invest through its income distribution process,

family consumption in C&S is constrained by the principles of justice and equality as applied to consumption, while savings and investment, as we shall demonstrate below, are determined socially by consensual decision processes also. We are rejecting for C&S the notion of "consumer sovereignty" as traditionally understood in neoclassical economic theory that the final individualistic choices of consumers, based on given tastes and preferences, automatically and rationally determine what shall be produced, how it shall be produced, how much shall be saved, how it shall be invested and in general how the economy and the environment shall be managed. We do accept for C&S, however, the principle that consumer preferences, as revealed in effective demand under given conditions of production and a "just" distribution of income would guide planners in determining the structure and composition of output, capital formation and environmental management (see Chapter VI).

It should also be stressed here that the aim of production in C&S is not financial profitability but rather consumption; more specifically the consumption of socially determined needs. As such the articulation and control of these needs would be substantially exercised at the level of consumption through the active participation of consumers rather than by producers. This, of course, does not deny for the producers control over and the improvement of the means of production. This, as we shall see, is a fundamental characteristic of the second equality (equality as producer)

but it should be recognized that to improve the means of production can only have meaning in relation to satisfying society's social needs.

## Equality as Producer

As was stated before, producer equality could only be achieved if each steward, as producer, was similarly entitled to the use of the means of production under a social property system which among other things guaranteed employment and associated management rights.[4]

We should point out at the outset that the property system envisaged by C&S is not based on the capitalistic model in which property is managed by either a decentralized elite (private capitalism) or a centralized elite (state capitalism). It does, however, bear some resemblance to the property relations found in the theory of self-managed economies.

Under private capitalism, the rights conferred on individuals in regard to the ownership of private property can be summarized as follows: the right to control and manage one's property; the right to enlarge it; the right to sell it; the right to destroy it; the right to appropriate all surplus derived from the property where surplus is the excess of total revenues over costs and taxes, and which takes such forms as profits, rents, interest, royalties,

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[4] D&C 82: 17-19.

and depreciation charges. The only responsibility associated with private ownership is that, in exercising the above rights, one is not to infringe on the corresponding property rights of others. This responsibility, of course, is still in many instances loosely and inadequately defined by law.

## Social Property

The concept of social property in C&S derives from the theological tenet that God owns everything in the earth but that mankind could inherit it with Him, as joint heirs, by embracing, among other requirements, all of the particulars of C&S.[5] In essence, to inherit the earth with God requires social ownership where ownership means entitlement to the usufruct of the property, under strict limits.

Upon becoming a member of the system, each person is to affirm in a ritualistic form his/her intent by consecrating all property, real and personal, to God. To make it legal, the property is to be deeded to the community through agents acting on behalf of the community.[6]

In return, each person, to begin with, is to receive by deed from the community sufficient personal property to satisfy a standard of living equal with others as described above.[7] A piece of land, a home, its furnishings and clothing

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[5] D&C 104: 14-16, 54-55.

[6] D&C 42: 30-31.

[7] Ibid., 32.

would be included in this personal property.

In addition, each person is to be given the productive means to carry on in some enterprise. The amount of capital to do so would vary depending on the nature of employment and also the size of the enterprise. Productive enterprises would range from small family units to larger collectives comprised of several or many working stewards. However many the differences are with respect to the amount of capital necessary to operate within all of the productive sectors, each steward within an identifiable enterprise confronts this new concept of social property. It can best be understood as an economic category rather than a legal one. That is, social ownership in the economic sense is defined according to the nature of distribution and appropriation which must be reflected in the legal title of ownership.

To illustrate this distinction, if legal private ownership of capital assets which provide no more income to its owner than that which is considered to be agreed upon labor income (plus current costs) and where the residual surplus would go to the community from which any deficits would be covered, it would essentially represent economically socialized ownership. On the other hand, a property system which is legally socialized but allows possibilities for a particular enterprise to exploit a monopoly position in obtaining incomes above and beyond that which derives from work would allow for a significant degree of privatization

of incomes.[8]

The concept of social property in C&S should be understood, then, in the more important economic sense. First, individual stewards are entitled to a return to work based on the criteria of justice. Second, to disallow the exploitation of a monopoly position, in terms of income, by any of the collective enterprises, a Central Treasury and Storehouse is to be established in every community which is to receive from all enterprises, on an ongoing basis, any and all material or financial surplus (gross of depreciation) over the returns to work and (by implication) their costs, and in turn are to pay out, on behalf of the community, deficits incurred by any enterprise.[9] Equity ownership is denied to both the individual steward and the enterprise as a working collective. If the individual or the collective owned its capital assets in the sense of being able to sell and realize capital gains or losses, the whole concept of social property would be undermined.

In this manner the property system effectively socializes all savings, and prevents any enterprise from appropriating any of the surplus as defined above to its own, arbitrarily determined, uses.

In turn, it is from this central fund and storehouse that each enterprise receives the means to carry on its

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[8]Horvat, "An Institutional Model," p. 308.

[9]D&C 51: 13-14; 104: 67-70.

operations. Insofar as adequate resources are available and each enterprise satisfies its operational requirements, requisitions from the Treasury/Storehouse are not to be denied. Though each enterprise has the right to initiate its own investment plans which will have been formulated as part of the community plan as described in the next chapter, they are to be monitored by the Treasury officials to ensure that the community plan is being fulfilled.[10] Intervention would only be justified on the subsidiary principle when decisions taken by the enterprise failed to conform to the general plans, did damage to the interests of others, or could not be handled by the enterprise. In the latter cases intervention would take place if an enterprise denied some of its members the right to participate fully in its management, failed to honor the distribution criteria to its members, or was willfully negligent or shoddy in its workmanship. Finally, to guard against authoritative abuse and uninformed decisions by the officers of the Treasury, all investments are to be regularly scrutinized and finally affirmed by the common consent of the community.[11] The decision making right of citizenship would undoubtedly be exercised with the other roles of producer and consumer in mind.

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[10] D&C 82: 17-19; 104: 72-75.

[11] D&C 104: 71-77.

In this way the Treasury/Storehous institutionally represents the definition of social ownership of all productive assets in C&S. That is, it represents the mechanism through which all assets are protected in a way to conform to the social contract.

## The Right to a Stewardship

As already pointed out in the previous chapter, one of the operational criteria of social justice is that employment is to be guaranteed as well as required of all who enter the system. Further, that a substantial degree of occupational free choice and, by implication, geographical mobility is to be extended to all participating members.

In a free market economy which lacks any guidance other than the preservation of unfettered market forces as ends in themselves, occupational free choice and employment are seriously attenuated, even under "full employment" conditions, by the non-fulfillment of two key assumptions, namely perfect information regarding the present and future and its corollary, occupational mobility. These failures can, in part, be traced to the income distribution process that is set up by market forces to begin with and which independently limits the range of occupations that an individual can realistically consider. Occupational choice is even more limited, of course, when there is general unemployment, as is usually the case in a private capitalist

system. A related feature of capitalist society is the all too familiar and serious problem of "technological unemployment," i.e., employment falling when per capita output is increasing faster than total output. It goes without saying that the social costs of unemployment, in terms of unrecoverable lost output, the means to sustain oneself and family, and the associated damaging psychological effects, represent a serious social loss.

In C&S the social plan to be discussed in Chapter VI would be a source of information concerning present employment options and careers which are available or will be in the future. Moreover, the planned mode and level of distribution would guarantee equality of opportunity to pursue those careers. C&S also envisages a certain willingness on the part of stewards to become mobile when special skills might be needed elsewhere. This may require only a physical move, though it could mean some occupational retooling. Though the necessary resources would be available to finance these moves, the mutual consent of the interested parties is to be sought.

As a planned economy, C&S would not be subject to fluctuations in effective demand. The overall ratio of investment to consumption along with the appropriate geographical and occupational distribution of stewards with their varying skills are to be taken up by the plan, and not, as in capitalism, by enterprises whose objective is financial profitability.

Because planning would certainly not be perfect, some underemployment of stewards would likely arise. This would be a less serious problem, however, than in a capitalist economy and under no circumstances would labor be declared redundant in C&S. Indeed, one of the principal benefits of C&S is the guarantee against unemployment.

## The Right to Management

The active participation of each steward at the level of the enterprise in its management and control derives also from the decision making process of common consent where participation in management is based on the condition of equality among the several stewards and not, as we have seen, on the basis of ownership as in capitalist enterprises.[12] Though each person is given the power of counsel and vote, here too we see that consensus is the goal. The exact form by which participation should be carried out in an efficient manner might vary from one enterprise to another. It would no doubt include consensually approved representative bodies and officers where a steward's council, an executive board, and a director or something akin to them would characterize the formal organization.

Participation would exist in the day-to-day operations of the enterprise as well as in the formulation of plans to be presented to the central Treasury/Storehouse. Though specialized tasks would still be prominent features in the

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[12] D&C 104: 70-71.

enterprise, the avoidance of the all too familiar problem of "alienation" would be one of the principal objectives of participation. It is through participation that individuals would be able to enjoy a sense of influence over the occurrence of actual outcomes of decisions, and thereby receive positive reinforcements. Work would assume a meaningfulness in the sense that the individual would view his/her contribution as part of a coherent pattern of activity contributing to something socially useful. The absence of the isolation and fragmentation of work that arises in a hierarchial decision making structure would lend to the realization of solidarity and cooperation which are essential features of a true working community. Finally, since work is so important to a person's self-definition and self-concept, the development of the above features through participation would encourage stewards to view their work as something more than a means for gaining "egocentric" material rewards and themselves as only an instrument to some other end. Without participation, a feeling of alienation and self-estrangement would most likely occur.

## Equality as a Citizen

Equality as a citizen in C&S presupposes the attainment of consumer and producer equality. Yet in order for citizen equality to be concretely realized, the whole concept of self-management is to be extended to the very apex of society's organizational structure. Bureaucracy is literally surpassed

in C&S by virtue of the fact that the authority that is exercised by the center is only delegated authority. No decisions by the central political authorities as we have seen are to be made without the regularly employed common consent of all citizens. This type of citizen participation, though reflecting both consumer and producer roles, goes beyond both in the more narrow sense of those terms. It would reflect a whole range of social, cultural and psychological phenomena that would put checks on the person's other roles of consumer and producer, as well as upon those who are administering the local central organs of power. Additionally, through a system of leadership rotation and active voluntary civic involvement (see Chapter VI) the function of directing society is placed in the hands of the masses rather than by forces outside of them.

Leaders would be nominated and upheld because of their personal qualifications of expertise and integrity rather than because of any shrewd ability to win the honor to perform a political function. Politics would come to exercise its proper vocation of expressing the collective moral judgments of the community.[13]

A more complete understanding of how to achieve a meaningful level of active participation by the citizens of a C&S system must be sought in the defining characteristics of community as given by the prophet Joseph Smith. Special

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[13]See Appendix II-C for Brigham Young's views.

problems arise if Smith's ideas were to apply strictly in modern society, though many of them would be, to a large extent, associated with the transition period which would necessarily require some modifications.

First, the Mormon leader essentially defined the community as a planned and autonomous city. Autonomy is to be secured by virtue of each community possessing its own Central Treasury/Storehouse. It is here that the basic concept of social property is to be secured.[14]

Self-sufficiency, on the other hand, according to the Mormon leader (and his successor Brigham Young) did not mean strictly community economic self-sufficiency. Rather their concern was primarily one of achieving intra-system self-sufficiency, particularly as a transitional concept so as to avoid dependency on and any exploitive practices of the larger encompassing society. To the extent that trade with the rest of the world was both feasible and desirable, such economic intercourse would characterize a C&S system.[15] Such, of course, would undoubtedly obtain between and among C&S communities and regions.

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[14] D&C 104: 21, 48-50.

[15] Brigham Young was especially concerned about the imperialistic encroachments of American capitalism during the Utah period. At one point he remarked ". . . it is a blessing to this people, and one of the greatest that can be bestowed on us, to cut the thread between us and our enemies [capitalists], and oblige us to sustain ourselves in everything that we can produce with our labor, skill and economy" (Journal of Discourses, 1958), and, again later, ". . .It may be said that we shall always be poor without commerce; we shall always be poor with it, unless we command

A very important aspect, however, that figured prominently in his city planning concepts was that of social, recreational, cultural and basic education self-sufficiency. Each community was to be planned such that a full range of these community services would be available to and physically accessible to all members of the community. Moreover, his city planning concepts explicitly considered the handling of environmental externalities. This is to be found in his ideas of separating residential areas from industry and agriculture and of avoiding the problem of congestion in living and transportation. Though we will not examine these ideas in detail, they do point towards a concept of community that might likely consider size as an important characteristic.[16]

However, for a modern day C&S community, its conceptualization should necessarily vary to fit many different circumstances, cultures, technological levels, etc.

The prophet believed that these autonomous communities, each possessing their own Treasury Storehouse and each founded upon the social contract, would be replicated throughout the world. What's more, he taught that these communities would be located within many political states; co-existing with their respective socioeconomic systems yet independent

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it; and unless we can do this, we are better without it" (Journal of Discourses, Vol. II, 1865, p. 134).

[16]For a discussion of Joseph Smith's city planning concepts see Joseph A. Geddes, "The United Order Among the Mormons (Missouri Phase): An Unfinished Experiment in Economic Organization" (Salt Lake City, 1924), pp. 88-95.

of them insofar as retaining their unique institutional characteristics and values. These C&S communities were to be joined together into a federation to be known as an United Order. This umbrella organization was intended to be the central organ of the total system; its functions to include the achievement of more equality and development among the the several communities; assistance in establishing new communities and in coordinating efficient levels of economic intercourse within the system.

One final characteristic of C&S that should be considered here has to do with a clause that is applicable to the person who decides to leave the system altogether or is asked to leave for persistent and flagrant violations of the contract. We are assuming again a pluralist world that would allow for the fulfillment of this inter-system mobility assumption.

In short, a person or family who leaves the system, for whatever reason, is entitled to take, as their own personal property or its adjusted equivalent, that which was initially received when stewardship allocations, based on the needs criteria, were made.[17] On the surface, this characteristic of C&S would seem to some to represent both an inducement and a deterrent to potential membership. For the poor, who had little or nothing to consecrate upon entering the system, it would, other considerations being equal, represent a very inviting clause. In a purely

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[17] D&C 51:5.

economic sense they could not lose if becoming a member represented their best economic alternative at the time. They could choose to leave the system soon after receiving their initial stewardships and take with them something more than they had before they joined. Flagrant abuses of this sort could be avoided by a more careful screening of potential entrants, although a complete elimination of this problem would probably be unlikely.

The clause itself was originally intended, according to Joseph Smith, to prevent those who were relatively affluent before joining the system from impoverishing again the original poor and thus disrupting the system.[18] As uninviting as this clause may appear to potential entrants with substantial means, it independently acts as an effective screening device in favor of those who are essentially committed to C&S's just and equitable principles. This kind of commitment would not only recognize purely unselfish motives but, to the contrary, would include motives based on the systems basic objective, to advance the full development of the person. Moreover, in the absence of such a clause, which guarantees something based on the needs formulae to those who exit the system for either of the two reasons cited, would represent a basic weakness in its philosophy of economic justice.

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[18]This clause was explained by Joseph Smith in a letter to the first bishop of the church, Edward Partridge, May 2, 1833. Quoted in Hyrum Andrus, Doctrines of the Kingdom, Vol. III (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1973), p. 234.

## Chapter VI

# PLANNING STRUCTURE: ENFORCEMENT, ECONOMIC CALCULATION AND ADJUSTMENT

Socioeconomic planning is an essential and critical characteristic of a C&S system. Its philosophical and organic origins derive from the basic social agreement, as represented by the social contract, which explicitly enunciates the system's objective goals. Together with the institutional characteristics, as described in the previous chapter, it is possible to define formally the nature and structure of planning in operationalizing the principles of justice. To do so requires attention to be given to three broad interrelated topics, which will be dealt with in the following order. The first topic to be discussed will be the structure, scope and content of economic planning. Here we will be concerned about questions such as: What are the essential components and details of the plan? Who is it that participates in the actual formulation of the plan and how is that participation to be organized? What are the levels at which planning takes place?

Second, we shall elaborate upon how the plan is to be enforced in a behavioral sense. More precisely, this discussion will center on how, through the system's institutional mechanisms, behavioral consistency with the plan is to be achieved. Here we will be concerned about both the control

mechanisms and the motivational or incentive structure which together would ensure desirable behavior.

Finally, we shall take up the topic of how economic consistency with the plan is to be achieved. This discussion will focus on the nature of economic calculation in determining prices, the role of markets and the economic adjustment mechanisms.

## The Structure and Content of Planning

Although a high level of specificity concerning the content of the plan is not included in the social contract, it does possess two explicitly defined goals which must operationally satisfy the system's philosophical basis of justice. The first is the requirement that C&S be based on a fully decentralized system of decision making in providing to its members the right to self-government. The second, which is the object of planning, are the other operational criteria of justice which are to obtain within and between generations. Self-government, then, is to receive direction from and is to be bounded by the other elements of the social contract, thus providing, by agreement, an essential combination of planning with social self-government. These two features, which at first sight may suggest an objective contradiction, are not only basic to C&S but are considered by some scholars as essential characteristics to be realized in a truly socialistic society.

Mihailo Marković, for example, has argued the importance of reconciling these two features as a basic problem, if not the basic one, for contemporary socialism. In his words the problem is:

> how to insure the guidance of the entire society under conditions of social self-government, how to insure that society as a whole moves with full consciousness of where it is going and what the general goals are that it ought to obtain, while every collective, township and republic retains the right to freely orient itself and move towards its own specific goals; how to provide for the rationality of the whole process and at the same time the spontaneity of its individual parts; how to reconcile the discipline that all planning from the center imposes, no matter how elastic it may be, with the initiative and freedom of individuals and collectives, without which there would be no sense in even speaking of workers' and social self-government.[1]

The absence in socialist countries today of something akin to C&S's social contract which explicitly states what the general goals of society are to be, and which in turn are to become the object of planning, combined with a participatory form of self-government, has led too often to the apparently real and objective contradictions between these two basic conceptual constituents of socialism. Significant dangers arise in a system which has been unable to effectively combine both planning and self-government.

For example, the dangers that planning from the center impose, in the absence of self-government, include the dulling

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[1]Mahailo Marković, "Self-Government and Planning," in Horvat et al., eds., Self-Governing Socialism I, p. 479.

of creativity and initiative; the tendency towards authoritarianism and abuse of power, the possible emergence of a separate and privileged social stratum; and an unwieldy increase in the bureaucratization of society.

On the other hand, self-government alone lacks order, is aimless and haphazard. It leads, in the absence of planning, to excessive individualism and "particularism," consequently undermining society's general social goals. What's more, small bureaucratic coteries would likely emerge, characterized by sharp differences of power and even wealth. These differences could appear within and among enterprises and communities, and leaving them unchecked, would be exacerbated over time.[2]

Since C&S is intolerant of all of these dangers, it is important that we demonstrate how the system logically combines and encourages the orderliness of planning and the initiative, creativity and freedom of self-government. We shall begin by first looking at the scope and content of planning.

## The Scope and Content of the Plan

Three broad objective requirements, mandated by the social contract, are to be realized as concrete components of both short and long-range plans. As we shall see, the scope of planning implied by these requirements covers an extensive part of the economic activities of a C&S system.

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[2]Ibid., pp. 418-482.

specifically, they include the distribution of income to working stewards (as well as to those who are handicapped); all investment and consumption categories, and therefore the allocation of material and labor inputs.

Briefly stated, these objective requirements of planning are: (1) human maintenance and replacement requirements--consumption, education, training, healthy motivation--which derive from the just distribution criteria; (2) non-human maintenance and replacement requirements; and (3) the restorative and development requirements for making a better future.

The first two categories can be thought of as social per capita requirements for static well-being, while the third includes net surplus allocations for per capita improvements, that is, for dynamic well-being. The first category would include socially determined necessitous individual and collective items of which the specific content would depend upon the historical stage of development and the peculiar cultural canons and location of each community. Necessary individual consumption would include such things as food, clothing, housing, fuel, etc., while necessary collective consumption would be comprised of health care, education, recreation and the like. It is again worth noting that necessary consumption is to be guaranteed and tailored, as is feasible to those members of the community who have special needs.

The second category should not be interpreted narrowly as maintenance and replacement of fixed and variable capital only, though they would be included. Replacement in a C&S

plan would involve a much broader perspective. Of utmost importance here would be the preservation of the gains of culture and civilization and maintaining intact the institutional structures of justice. In short, replacement means the reproduction of social relations.

Replacement in this broader social context represents a real social cost that is to be incurred when social and economic parameters, crucial to the maintenance of justice, would otherwise be altered. This should not be thought of as an extremely conservative, or more precisely, a non-progressive characteristic of C&S. Rather, it is to suggest the boundaries and channels through which development must be directed.

Finally, a crucial characteristic of replacement planning, to which resources must be allocated, would be research and development for the express purpose of the replacement (substitution) of natural resources which are known to be exhaustible.

The third objective requirement is to plan for a better future. Economic development--not merely economic growth--would be the consciously pursued goal towards which net incremental social expenditures would be directed. Improvements in the standard of living involving consumption increases, product improvement, capital formation, technological change, environmental improvement (including the improvement in the conditions of work), advances in education, the achievement of higher standards of culture, etc.,

would fall under this third requirement of justice.

Although the maintenance and net investment components of the plan could be separate categories for planning purposes, it is clear that there are common elements in both; especially since this framework is not static. As a community continues to develop and grow, some activities currently under net surplus allocations in one period, would be in a subsequent period legitimate social maintenance allocations.

The choice, of course, for the community is not only one between consumption and investment but also between investments that promise early yields and those that are long range. Elements of both would emerge from the gross investment fund with all of the operational criteria of justice, including justice to future generations, impacting the final decisions.

In the early stages of development greater efforts would likely be applied to increasing the material welfare of its members, while in later stages an increased amount of labor time would be devoted to activities that would facilitate a higher level of cultural attainments.

The important question, however, that must be faced by every C&S community is one of the composition of a community's net resources that should be allocated between consumption and investment. Though no hard and fast rules have been specified, the decision that must ultimately be made should include three major requirements. The first specifies that consumption should be according to needs. This requires a

socially determined definition of needs as contrasted to luxuries. The resolution to this dilemma can be sought, though not precisely, in the other two requirements. They are: the intergenerational responsibilities of each community and the maintenance of an adequate level of transfers between communities so as to eliminate inter-community disparities in the standards of living.

## Levels and Form of Planning

To ensure that self-government is effectively realized in C&S, planning must be conducted at every level in the social structure. Looking first at the community unit, this means that individuals in their three roles as consumer, producer and citizen actively participate in the formation of the plan. Though it would be naive to assume that such a high level of participation by peripheral units would be quickly and easily achieved in a transition to C&S, one should not begin with an "a priori disbelief in such a possibility." To do so would invite, in practice, the supporting of bureaucratic tendencies and the acceptance of "the methods of administrative socialism."[3]

Similarly, it would represent at best nothing less than wishful thinking to assume that a natural and spontaneous harmonization of planning could result from such a high level of pariticipation without the creation of a central organ of self-management--the Central Treasury/Storehouse--which is

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[3]Ibid., p. 486.

responsible for enforcing the general goals and guidelines of the social contract and, as we shall see, to be the "economic adjuster of last resort" in achieving consistency of results with the goals of the plan.

Plan construction by the central planners should necessarily require as a first step the preparation of a demand plan. This could be accomplished by assembling information (1) from families concerning consumption needs and desires and (2) from enterprises and communities concerning replacement needs and future oriented desires. Along with this should go information from each producing unit concerning the past year's (period's) production results and possible changes from the year--i.e., at least two alternatives--with the pros and cons for each alternative provided.

Then, and only then, should it be possible for the central planners to prepare a rough draft plan, which would have to contain, at least, the following elements: (1) planned aggregate GNP; (2) planned distribution of income and proportions allocated to Consumption, Replacement and Future; (3) planned product mix by sectors; (4) planned production by sectors (equal to the product mix) and by enterprises; and (5) Replacement and Future allocations by sectors and enterprises.

The central planners, in the preparation of the draft plan, should, of course, always have the contractual requirements of the contract in mind. The rough draft would then be sent down to all economic enterprises which would confirm or

modify the plan as the case may be, through its participatory decision making process, taking into consideration again such things as their own input coefficients, knowledge of better product designs and production techniques, and information from consumers regarding the quantity and quality of their consumption preferences.

A substantial amount of horizontal information sharing among enterprises within the same line of production would undoubtedly be fostered in C&S, thus aiding the planners when the enterprises send the modified draft plan back to the center, to dovetail the plans of each enterprise regarding such things as the flow of materials in terms of amount and location, etc. These vertical and horizontal information flows, which are processed through the center, would facilitate the design of the final plan for the period in question, which would then be passed back down to each of the enterprises.

It is in this manner that the economic plan is laid down. Investment targets and their allocation by production categories, their special locations and the specific kinds of equipment, would all be decided upon as part of the plan. Each enterprise would be responsible to carry out that part of the plan for which they have particular capacity and responsibility; settling among themselves and the central authorities the volume, quality and delivery dates of supplies so as to ensure plan fulfillment in a way most beneficial to society.

Again, we should point out that the plan that is

finally decided upon is to receive affirmation by the common consent of the community of citizens. Though we must return to this discussion under the topic of economic calculation, it is important to point out in the present context that this form of planning is more than a calculating technique or a way of sending relevant information. To be sure, it is a required and special way of working out the plan. Its intent is to achieve a high level of social efficiency through a social form that encourages participation by everyone in order to fully account for the concrete economic situation of different subjects.

As a federation of autonomous (not necessarily economically self-sufficient) communities, planning in C&S would also be carried out at higher levels of organization. Specifically, there would be at least two other organizational units. The first might exist at the international level since C&S was conceived as a world system, whereas the second would obtain at a regional level. The geographical boundaries of regions likely would vary considerably, though cultural heritage, tradition and historical development would probably figure prominently in the definition of those boundaries. Moreover, regions could be geographically defined according to the highest feasible degree, actual or potential, of economic self-sufficiency. This is not to say that trade would be confined within regions but rather to argue for an increased degree of regional economic diversification. Certainly, location characteristics--such as climate, soil, indigenous

primary resources, etc.--would understandably encourage relative specialization in many areas, thus encouraging trade among these areas. The primary economic functions of these higher central organs of self-management would be to equalize the conditions of economic activity through a system of transfers; to provide the means whereby short-run equilibrium--i.e., eliminating cyclical fluctuations and sectoral surpluses and deficits--could be attained, and also to facilitate appropriate long-run rates of growth and development.

The ideological and political functions of these higher organizational units would be to exhort and to enforce, if needs arise, the social contract, in all of its institutional and operational characteristics. In a fashion identical to the relationship between the community and the enterprise, decisions made at the federation and regional levels must always have the interests of the affected sub-units directly represented. Their leaders would similarly be morally and politically responsible for carrying out their respective assignments. The system of common consent in upholding the leadership at the regional and federation levels would therefore be regularly employed to ensure such responsible behavior.

Special agencies with specifically defined economic functions would be created to provide the necessary financial, technical and informational resources so as to effect planning in a consistent and coordinated fashion. For example, the Central Treasuries at both the regional and federation level

would coordinate and monitor money flows within and among regions, respectively, and provide the investment funds especially designed for insufficiently developed areas. An agency concerned with agricultural and other raw material reserves, could keep the relevant sub-units apprised of larger aggregate supply and demand conditions; aid in maintaining appropriate reserves; and help in their equitable distributions. The creation of a special export-import agency could not only facilitate intra-system trade but also provide information and assistance in trade with other systems where it is both feasible and desirable.

Federal and regional science and technology agencies could act as funders and coordinators for basic research and development functions so that the modernization of technology would be equally shared across regional, community and industrial perimeters. This would provide a very efficient scientific organization which would avoid the high social costs fostered by extreme secrecy, lack of coordination and cooperation, and expensive duplication that characterizes the scientific industry in the western world. Needless to say, the patent system, with its retarding influence on scientific application would be absent in C&S.

Federal and regional planning agencies would use the information gathered by all of the above to evaluate the past data and to forecast the future. This information would represent invaluable inputs in the formation of new plans.

All of the preceding institutional characteristics would be analogous to their counterparts at the community

level so that efficient plan formation, coordination and implementation could be achieved at all planning levels.

Finally it should be emphasized that every steward at all levels of organization and in whatever function he/she performs would, in assenting to the social contract, be taught to feel responsible towards achieving efficiency, technical progress, quality and economy of economic inputs. How this kind of behavior is to be achieved is the subject of the following section.

## Enforcement of the Plan: Achieving Behavioral Consistency with the Plan

There are two critical issues that must be discussed insofar as the behavioral requirements of the plan are concerned. The first has to do with individual accountability, while the second deals with incentives or motivation.

Whereas an institutionalized system of personal accountability in C&S is intended as the means to get people to behave in a responsible way, the incentive system is designed to elicit intrinsically motivated behavior towards one's best efforts. It would represent nothing less than wishful thinking to assume that planning could be harmonized and spontaneously achieved without a specifically structured system of accountability, where representatives of the community exercise the power of sanctions, in the form of rewards and penalties, as well as providing the means for overall coordination and adjustment of the plan.

Moreover, the absence of a built-in incentive system that clearly encouraged individual efforts would, at the outset, invite an a priori disbelief that the system could ever achieve a high level of participation and initiative.

These two features, the protection and the fostering of free and responsible behavior, are not, however, institutionalized in a mutually exclusive way, but rather are designed so that in the process of achieving one, the other is also advanced.

Therefore, the forms and instruments of authority that are found in C&S vis-à-vis the people are not relationships of domination or repression but ones which allow the people to express their views and press for their implementation while the central leadership can concentrate on correctly interpreting these ideas in relationship to the cooperatively determined plan. If the instruments of power within C&S were separated from the people then a class structure characterized by the dominant/dominated would result.

## The Audit System

The auditing of each stewardship is deemed essential in ascertaining whether the behavioral requirements are being satisfied.[4] It is to be conducted by the central leadership at each level of organization for those units which fall under the appropriate jurisdictions. This means that the

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[4] D&C 72: 3, 5-7, 15-19; 104: 13.

central leadership at the federation level would audit each of the communities operating in the system. The central leadership of each community, in turn, would be responsible to conduct an audit on each of the enterprises within its territory. Since larger enterprises, comprised of several or more stewards, would characterize a modern C&S system, then a similar auditing procedure on each of the sub-units within the larger enterprises would also take place at each level of representative leadership. To avoid a massive bureaucratization emerging at the center, as well as the stifling of creativity and entrepreneurship at the periphery, the number and details of the audit, as criteria in making judgements about the performance of each sub-unit, should run from very little at the federation level to progressively more detail within the enterprise.

Although intervention is implied by the audit system it is reasonable to assume that at the highest level of organization the leadership there would concentrate most of their efforts on orchestrating the plan and exhorting the people to abide by the essential behavior requirements.

Since the autonomous communities are to be the dominant features of the system and because the emphasis of the audit was placed here in the revelations, it would be useful to elaborate upon its concrete form at this level. The specific principles could then be generalized, with some modifications to apply in similar fashion to the other levels.

As each enterprise is audited by the central

leadership of the community, the question can be usefully asked: What information would be required during the course of the audit? There are two aspects to be considered in answering this question. The first deals with an ex post evaluation; that is, what is the level of performance of each enterprise in the course of using the means of production previously allocated to it by the Treasury/Storehouse. The second is a pre-evaluation; that is, what information would be sought by the central leadership in judging the requests for additional resources from the Treasury/Storehouse.

To answer the first question, it seems that the criteria should be kept relatively simple. Reduced to a simple variable, each stewardship would report the actual level of surplus that has been deposited in the Treasury/Storehouse. The surplus criterion, however, would not be applied in a strictly mechanical way. Since every enterprise is likely to be characterized by different circumstances which would lead to variations in the surplus, these peculiarities should be documented as supporting evidence regarding the actual amount of the surplus. For example, variations among workers regarding special needs should be accounted for in the explanation of the enterprise's distribution. Also, differences in skills and the amount and quality of means of production would obviously dictate differences in an enterprise's production potential and should therefore be accounted for during the audit.

Finally, enterprises perform different functions within

the community. Some would perform special services which may be especially designed to earn little or no surplus at all. Indeed, for some operations, the plan may call for their indefinite subsidization from the community's central resources. Others may be well-placed in terms of the function they perform so that a large surplus could be expected. In practice, all of the above considerations would enter into determining the planned surplus of each enterprise, leaving the audit to deal only with the differences between planned and actual surpluses.

With these considerations in mind, intervention by the central leadership would only be justified if an enterprise failed to honor the distribution requirements and/or fell considerably short of its planned surplus. A more complete audit of the enterprise would then be undertaken to identify the source of such deviant behavior with efforts then made to correct it. For flagrantly dishonest and persistent abuses by any enterprise, its assets might be liquidated and transferred to another, or at least reduced; management may be changed; and in some cases the culpable parties may be asked to leave the system. In many situations, however, such urging, directing and restraining as required would probably be adequate to correct any malperformance.

It is true that a stewardship's performance as determined during the audit would figure prominently in the decision to honor subsequent requisitions it makes from the Treasury/Storehouse. However, even when appropriate behavior in the

post evaluation has been confirmed, it is still important to consider the type of interchange that should obtain between the enterprise and the central authorities when new requisitions are made upon the central fund. The correct relationship should maintain both power at the center to intervene in favor of plan fulfillment yet at the same time permit--indeed encourage--the enterprise which is in closer touch with its own operations, to engage in the kind of entrepreneurial activity which relates to such things as quality of product and improvements in technology and technique. The central authorities, upon receiving these proposals from the enterprise could then, through appropriate questioning, force the enterprise to defend the consistency of their own recommendations with the overall plan.

For example, the center could ask questions such as the following:

What impact would your proposals have on the potential surplus as compared to the actual?

What, if any, substitutable alternatives did you consider in your planning?

What are the social costs of these alternatives? That is, what impact would your proposals have on the utilization of labor, the conditions of work and the physical environment as compared to others?[5]

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[5]For a similar and very useful discussion of an audit system as part of a "theory of large-scale organization" see E. F. Schumacher, Small Is Beautiful: Economics As If People Mattered (New York: Harper, 1973), pp. 227-238.

In expecting this type of questioning, an enterprise would be more inclined to do a substantial amount of homework in documenting a reasonable defense for its own proposals. The center, however, is ideally placed to communicate back to the enterprise its own suggestions or those made by other enterprises which were entertained only superficially or not at all by the one in question. The net result of this type of arrangement could lead to an effective sharing of information regarding demand and production potential and the community plan in general. Planning would certainly not be reified, but rather made flexible enough to account for all of the creative activity that is encouraged at the periphery. Yet modifications in the plan through this type of interchange would always be bounded by the justice and equity requirements of the social contract.

To guard against the possibility of the central authorities summarily usurping the prerogatives of their stewardship, all decisions which are made by this body are to be regularly scrutinized by the consent of all members of the community. In this way the central authorities who fail to uphold their responsibilities could then be replaced by a non-confidence vote of the community.

Two other features of C&S deal specifically with the relationship between the leaders and the community and are designed to minimize the potential for misusing power and encourage fair and responsible behavior.

The first will focus on the leadership system; their

selection, required qualifications, responsibilities and tenure, while the second deals with C&S's juridicial system of arbitration.

## Leadership System

Common consent plays a crucial role in the leadership system of C&S. First, leadership callings are initiated by nomination by those in higher authority. However, before candidates can officially assume the position to which they have been nominated, they must be presented before the community in which they are to serve for acceptance or rejection. Once installed, each incumbent leader (both local and central leaders), on a number of occasions each year--the number of times depending on the office--is again presented to their respective constituency for a sustaining assent. Unanimity in the affirmative not only gives legitimacy to one's leadership but it also imposes a responsibility on those who sustain to support the leader in attitude and work by accepting assignments in carrying out the many programs in the community. Before these latter assignments become official, common consent is again employed. If any number of people--not necessarily a majority--refuse to accept the nominations, for the time being there would be little chance that the nominee would be installed--or retained, as the case may be.

Rather than provoking a confrontation, dissenting voices serve the function of keeping lines of communication

open; to gather and confirm new information, as well as to correct misinformation concerning those so nominated.[6] The correct interpretation of common consent in this regard is that leaders nominate and people sustain if and only if they (the people) believe or can be persuaded to believe that the nominees are committed to the social contract which includes natural duty to others.[7] If the satisfied condition is met, there is a better chance that a consensus would be forthcoming. Under the contractual scheme of justice, in which people have promised to uphold and foster the social contract, any prospective nominees to leadership would be screened through deliberation, consultation and interview by the jurisdictional leaders to find those with a demonstrated commitment. This screening, of course, has nothing to do with comparisons of social or economic status, which are to be eliminated in C&S.

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[6]A view held by some is that leaders nominate and the people are required to sustain--period. This is based on an incorrect understanding of common consent; it would represent a system of automatic approval which is empty and not likely to work. Even though Mormon theology is based on the principle that leaders are entitled to divine "revelation" in their choice of nominations, it in no way abrogates the stipulation that the community assents to the nominations according to their best judgment. This check, based on the right to dissent, is a fundamental characteristic of common consent. For some excellent discussions of Common Consent see Millenial Star 63(48) (November 28, 1901), pp. 777-8; Orson Whitney, 77th Conference Address, April 1907, pp. 109-13; Orson Whitney, Conference Reports, 5 April 1909, pp. 72-7; Orson Whitney, Conference Reports, 30 October 1930, pp. 43-7; Antoine R. Ivins, Conference Reports, October 5, 1934, pp. 40-2; Marion G. Romney, Conference Address, vol. 118, October 1947, pp. 38-41 (Salt Lake City).

[7]For a discussion of natural duty see Rawls, A Theory of Justice, pp. 180-7. See also Book of Mormon, Moroni 7: 43-48, p. 515.

The prophet Joseph Smith, in a "revelation" enumerated the ideal qualifications which are to be sought after in leaders if they are to continue to be acceptable; qualifications which C&S would tend to promote. Among other things, these included gentleness in persuasion, love unfeigned, kindness, and charity towards all people. Undesirable characteristics which could lead to rejection of a leader are the exercise of "control or dominion or compulsion" over others, aspiring to the honors of others, the gratification of personal pride and vain ambitions, hypocrisy and guile.[8]

Another feature of the organization of leadership is the ongoing rotation of leadership roles within each enterprise and the community. In addition to individual income supporting stewardships, individuals are expected to participate, when called upon, in various leadership functions at various civic levels in the community.[9] Training for leadership is to begin very early in a youngster's life. The socialization process, besides being directed towards an inculcation of the behavioral objectives of the social contract, also emphasizes the importance of developing leadership skills. Even at an early age, different leadership opportunities,

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[8] D&C 121: 33-45.

[9] This is the principle of leadership that obtains in the Mormon church today. In the absence of a professionally paid clergy, it is encumbent upon every member to carry his or her fair share of leadership roles. Because certain assignments are more demanding than others, a rotation system guarantees, over time, a more equitable sharing of both the benefits and burdens of leadership.

particularly in community service areas, are to be given to each person, male and female, on a rotation basis to broaden their scope of experience.

This fact, that most people would share to some extent at various levels of community leadership, without pay (unless the assignment should demand a person's fulltime attention, i.e., be his or her income supporting stewardship) coupled with the rotation principle, would have positive tendencies towards unanimous support of each other. The success of any cooperative organization depends crucially upon the integrity and trustfulness of each constituent.

This trust, as well as confidence and respect, is bound to be enhanced when representative leaders in the broader social organizations who express the interests of the people receive no superior status or material privileges in society. Knowledge, moral integrity and skill would be increasingly expressed as the most important qualifications of leadership. This is in contrast to a bureaucratic society where definite authority must be won to enable a person to receive the honor of performing a political or social function.[10]

## The Court System

To further aid in achieving the behavioral objectives of C&S, a juridicial system exists to provide for appropriate

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[10] M. Marković, "Socialism and Self-Management," p. 426.

courts of arbitration at all organizational levels of the system. No one is to be exempt from discipline for malfeasance of office, nor is anyone to be denied the right to a fair hearing or to an appeal. If it is determined that judgments in a lower court were made with insufficient evidence and/or injustice has been inflicted, then a reversal of the original decision would be made. A significant characteristic of the court system in C&S is that judgments are made by the peers of the affected party with an equal representation made in behalf of both the individual and the community. To be judged by one's peers is intended to eliminate the need for professional trial lawyers who might have solely in mind the goal of winning a case whatever its merits might be.[11]

The Character of Incentives

Though we have touched upon several features of C&S that promote positive efforts in achieving the behavioral requirements of the plan, it would be useful to discuss the incentive system at a more general level.

A standard criticism against any system that reduces or eliminates the possibilities of personal gain, particularly to those who would provide the entrepreneurial and innovative function, is that it would fail to achieve standards of economic growth comparable to those in capitalist societies.

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[11] See D&C 102: 12-22 for the details of the court system.

We will only mention here, however, that the nature and quality of incentives that obtain in capitalist society are a far cry from those advanced in the standard economics texts. Mutual hostility, secrecy, the currying of political favors, bribery, sabotage, exploitation, etc., are more characteristic of the incentive system in capitalist societies than a genuinely high level of effort towards behavioral objectives similar to what C&S advances.[12]

Repeating what has been said before, it is not sufficient to assume that a high level of effort would be forthcoming in C&S only because it is a fundamental part of the contract. This would be asking too much from even a strongly committed group of men and women and would smack of too much utopianizing, unless, however, the logic of its institutional forms conduced towards high efforts. This, then, requires some additional analysis.

We will draw substantially, for this purpose, from Jaroslav Vanek's technical apparatus in his discussion of incentives and efficiency in a labor-managed firm.[13] The basis of his analysis is the introduction of an "effort" variable which is lacking in modern analysis. Vanek's "effort" includes, in addition to number of hours worked, two other ingredients: namely the intensity of that work

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[12]See, for example, Appendix II-B for Brigham Young's views on the nature of competitive incentives under capitalism.

[13]See Vanek, The General Theory, pp. 233-54.

and its quality.[14] We can employ the same technique, with some modifications, that Vanek uses to represent the significance of the effort variable (E) on labor incentives in C&S.

In its ideal and required operation, the utility function in C&S for the individual steward as well as the community is positively related to both the democratically determined community consumption standard and the residual surplus, which together make up the value of the gross output, i.e., $U = U(\bar{Y}_c, S)$ where $\bar{Y}_c$ is the community consumption standard and S is the gross surplus. And $U_{\bar{Y}_c} > 0$ , $U_S > 0$.

The latter can be contrasted with labor under a capitalist fixed wage contract where $U_S \leq 0$; this being the case since the surplus would accrue to the owners of capital.

We can represent our analysis in Figure 1 where the horizontal axis from 0' to 0 from right to left measures the positive effort variable (which includes the three ingredients of duration, intensity, and quality). We assume all other factors constant in the short-run, including the number of laborers at full employment. The latter, of course, is guaranteed in C&S.

The vertical axis measures the value of gross output (Y) of the community, and is a positive--and in this representation--a diminishing function of E (represented by the locus AB).

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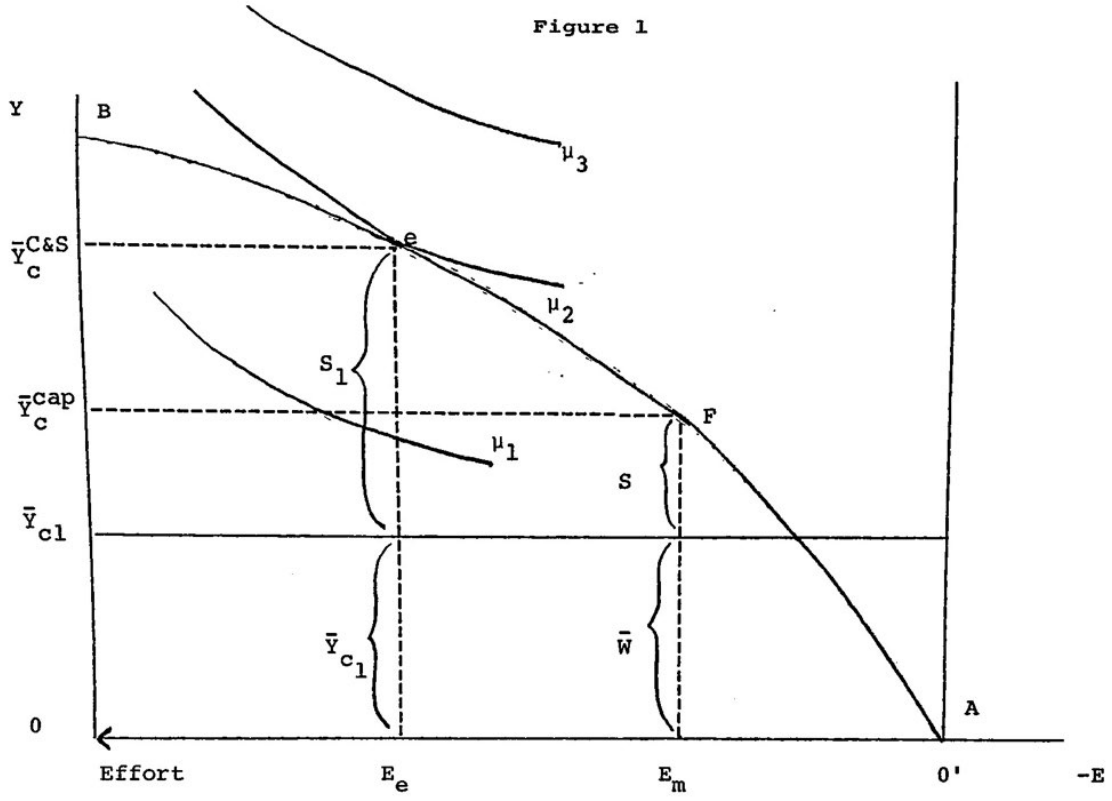
[14] Ibid., pp. 233-238.

Figure 1


Y
B
$\mu_3$
$\bar{Y}_c^{C\&S}$
e
$\mu_2$
$S_1$
$\bar{Y}_c^{cap}$
F
$\mu_1$
S
$\bar{Y}_{cl}$
$\bar{Y}_{c_1}$
$\bar{W}$
A
0
Effort
$E_e$
$E_m$
0'
-E

Three community indifference curves, $\mu_1$, $\mu_2$, $\mu_3$, are shown with the point of maximum satisfaction at e on indifference curve $\mu_2$.

This equilibrium point corresponds to an aggregate gross community income of $\bar{Y}_e^{C\&S} = \bar{Y}_{c_1} + S_1$ and an equilibrium level of effort ($E_e$). It should be noted that $\bar{Y}_{c_1}$ represents the community determined <u>consumption</u> income (no private savings obtain in C&S.

We can compare this equilibrium with that of a capitalistic community where labor is hired at a fixed wage, say $\bar{w}^{cap} = \bar{Y}_{c_1}$, and where only a minimum level of effort is required to stay employed, say $E_m$--a greater effort would benefit only the capitalist through his capture and control of the surplus. The transformation function, then, would appear as $\bar{Y}_e^{cap}$ F $E_m$. Assuming downward sloping indifference curves, then equilibrium would settle at F. The capitalist equilibrium level of net income, $\bar{Y}_e^{cap}$, is less than that of the system of C&S, $\bar{Y}_e^{C\&S}$, because of the condition $U_S > 0$ in C&S and $U_S \leq 0$ under capitalism. We, of course, are assuming the same level of non-labor resources, i.e., technology, industrial organizational structure, capital, etc.

There are several reasons why a greater effort would be forthcoming under C&S, i.e., why $U_S > 0$. First, the belief system, which enjoins a high level of effort, would have a profound positive effect on effort (as it did during the early period of Mormon church history). Second, the institutional sanctions against idleness and the non-pecuniary

rewards for industry (greater management responsibility) would lend themselves towards a higher level of effort. Third, the disposition of the surplus generated during a particular accounting period is to be controlled by common consent of the community, and is to take into consideration the whole range of socially useful items in the succeeding period(s). In addition to consensual democratic control of the surplus and its ultimate return to the community, the smaller size of these communities would, presumably, make for more effective political representation. This close identification with the control and enjoyment of the surplus strongly suggests, a priori, the condition $U_S > 0$, and thus a high expenditure of effort.

Although allocations for stewardships are to be determined by capital needs and/or demonstrated ability, this does not mean that larger stewardships would be advantaged over others in terms of the distribution. No doubt, differences in skill would inevitably exist, but there would tend to be fostered in C&S a spirit of collaboration and helpfulness--from those who performed at a higher level of expertise--so as to minimize, in the long run, disparities resulting from differences in talents and productivity.

Information is never perfect, but in C&S its gathering and dissemination regarding demand, cost conditions, etc., is freely shared. This presumption is based on the support of condition $U_S > 0$ given above. A stewardship which was responsible for the development of a superior production

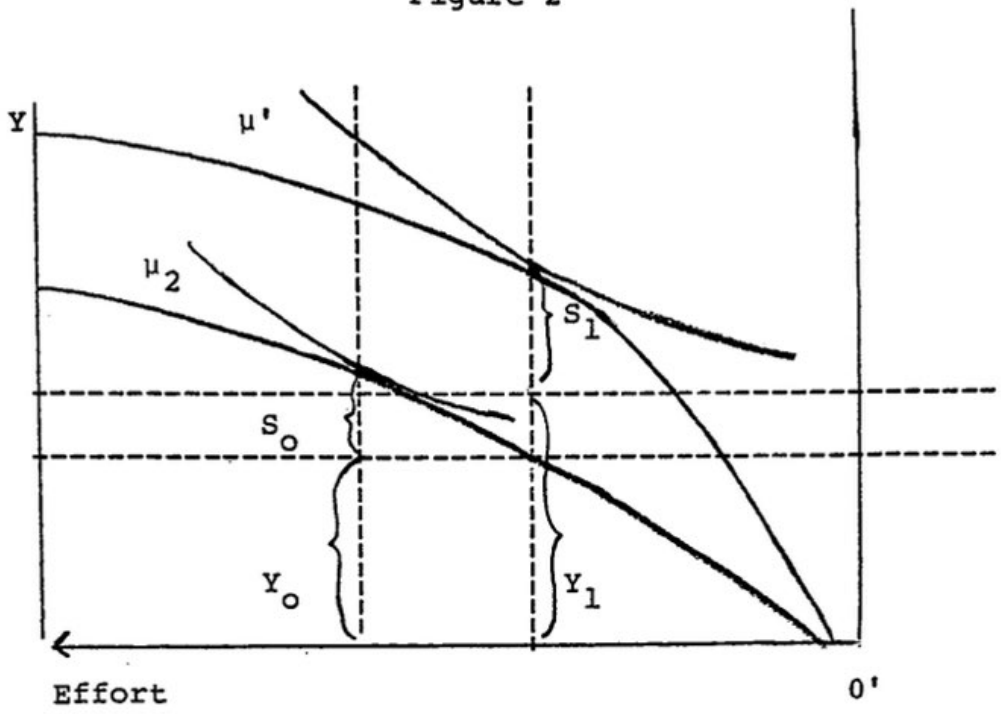
process would (because of the absence of private profit making) have no reason to withhold this information. Furthermore, growth beyond a technically efficient size would be resisted by the community of stewardships because of the assumed preference for maximizing one's political participation and representation in the management and control of a particular stewardship. It appears that smaller scale production units would be encouraged in C&S, albeit with some tradeoff between scale efficiency in the technical sense and in its broader political sense.

The emphasis on the material side of effort should not be exaggerated at the expense of other significant factors. No doubt, in the early stages of development a more concerted effort to raise the level of consumption to adequate levels of needs as well as to provide for an expansion of the reproduction of the means of production would be a dominant concern in the planning process.

However, over time, as a community's production potential is increased, as in Figure 2, from $F_{t_o}$ to $F_{t_1}$, a consensually altered utility map, from $\mu_2$ to $\mu'$, in the planning process would reflect a reduced marginal rate of substitution of effort for surplus. However, as it is represented, both a rising standard of living (from $Y_1$ to $Y_2$) and a larger surplus (from $S_1$ to $S_2$) could still be achieved with a reduction in the number of hours worked. This, of course, assumes the same number of workers in both periods only for comparative purposes. The point here is that C&S, increasingly,

would emphasize the importance of cultural, educational, recreational and civic activities.

Figure 2




Moreover, activities relating to the total environment would figure prominently in the decisions to allocate the efforts of the community. Though we will turn to this topic later on, a general statement concerning environmental considerations can appropriately be made here.

Environment

The ability to handle externalities is greatly enhanced in C&S. First, environmental considerations in the broadest sense are built into the justice requirements of the contract. They include the requirements of avoiding deleterious environmental substances; encouraging a high

and durable quality of output; and favorable and satisfying conditions of work. Second, C&S represents a superior political system which is capable of internalizing externalities of all kinds. This is facilitated by the following three features of C&S. First, stewards, as producers and consumers would no doubt exercise their right of decision making with their dual roles in mind (notably absent when private profit making is the goal). Producers, for example, being in a position to ascertain the ecological costs of a particular production process would be more apt to furnish this information to the community so a more enlightened decision could be made. Second, stewards as producers and consumers, live in the community in which they work, and their investment decisions would reflect their total consumer role, including neighborhood effects. Third, because smaller communities were suggested by Joseph Smith's city planning concepts (they also incorporated considerations of externalities), this, too, would lead to a more effective detection of externalities of all kinds.

Ritual of Recontracting and Social Pressure

Finally, two remaining considerations should be made regarding the achievement of the behavioral objectives of the plan. We spoke in Chapter IV of the importance of reaffirming, on a regular basis, one's commitment to the social contract. The importance of this practice should not be underestimated.

It is to apply to all members of a C&S society regardless of their particular stewardships and is to continue from an early age throughout a person's life. It is intended to mitigate the temptation of leaders exercising compulsory authority beyond the limitations of the contract, and to ensure that its values are passed on to each succeeding generation without being attenuated or altered by the force of time. Though the actual form that this recontracting takes is a ritualistic and symbolic outward manifestation of assent, great care is to be taken to prevent it from becoming nothing more than that so as not to lose sight of its basic and real objectives.

Appropriately, then, C&S intentionally establishes an educational system which has as its essence the transmission of its ideas and values. Not only are those ideas and values to be taught formally in school but, additionally, are to be formally instituted and taught in family home evening programs where parents and children participate in study, discussion and planning to aid each other in inculcating and actually practicing what has been preached from the center. To the extent that these values become part of the person--in thought and feeling--recontracting assumes its importance.

The very real social pressure implied in the above cannot be denied and the risks are high that dogmatism and conformity in unessential matters could result. Great care is to be taken to respect the unique character and talents

of every person and culture and to allow them to press for their interests within the bounds of justice. The latter suggests the only extent to which homogenization of a C&S society is to be carried and thus the fulfillment of the behavior objectives of the plan. Though its demands are substantial, so too are its opportunities for individual development, and one might be hard-pressed to argue that homogenization, in other respects, is any less in alternative systems.

## Economic Calculation and Adjustments: Achieving Economic Consistency with the Plan

As in any system that is characterized by money and prices, markets do exist in C&S. However, the distinguishing features of C&S, capitalism, socialism, etc., have nothing to do with the question of whether markets exist, but rather with the underlying ideological, political and economic institutional forces which determine the conditions of exchange. That is, how are the terms of trade determined and whether or to what extent do the terms of trade determine the distribution of wealth and income and thus again the terms of trade. There is substantial evidence that the relative price structure in any system is, in large part, the result of power relationships and economic policy.

This is especially true of most capitalist countries today where the most significant prices are in reality political prices rather than prices which are given exclusively by the market; though even here political prices have objective

determinants that reflect the "objective economic and political requirements of state monopoly capitalism."

Even the abstract "optimal" model in which market forces determine relative values must implicitly assume political and ideological relationships where power is distributed in a way that no one producer or consumer (group) can gain unfair advantage over another. But even the distribution of wealth and power which is "fair" in this limited sense will determine, according to theory, the structure of relative prices.

Furthermore, the basis of a pure (neoclassical) market economy is the institutional separation of the economic sphere from the rest of society. Production and distribution is controlled, and directed by the self-regulation of the market mechanism. The economic problem arises from the assumption of boundless consumer wants being juxtaposed against the limited resource postulate. Indeed, scarcity emerges from the demand side. For efficiency to obtain in the allocation of scarce resources, perfectly competitive markets with no externalities must exist for all produced commodities, as well as for basic resources (land, labor) and for loanable funds. The latter are also treated as commodities, i.e., things subject to valuation and allocation by means of exchange transactions. If institutional arrangements (as in C&S) prevented the formation of self-regulating markets for land, labor and funds, then the very nature of self-regulation of the total system would be aborted and the narrow definition of static

allocative efficiency would be impossible.[15]

Moreover, one should not lose sight of the fact that the existence of market forces in determining the conditions of exchange assumes an adversary ("competitive") relationship between buyer and seller, as well as among buyers and sellers. Personal gain is a fundamental postulate of market behavior and excessive gain by some is supposedly held in check by the gainful efforts of others. Theory tells us that social harmony is the net result of these conflictual endeavors under "perfect" market conditions, but it stresses "personal gain" as the fundamental motivating force instead of emphasizing mutual hostility as the fundamental emotional stance required and generated by a market system. Indeed, failure to recognize this second characteristic is responsible for the failure of economic theorists to recognize the inevitable tendency of market systems to generate monopolistic and protectionist behavior and thus prevent the conditions of "free" market behavior from lasting for more than a brief time.[16]

The point of the above is that, for C&S, the basic behavioral postulates of modern economics would not (or should not) hold and therefore the notion of a self-regulating (i.e., price determined clearing) market mechanism in the

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[15]Karl Polanyi, The Great Transformation (Boston: Beacon, 1946), see especially Chapter 6.

[16]See Appendix II-A and II-B for Brigham Young's views. See also Polanyi, The Great Transformation, pp. 130-219.

neoclassical sense is inappropriate for and absent from C&S. This is not to say that market relationships cease to exist but only that they cease to be independent regulators of economic and social activity. If market forces were to be given free rein and thus not be subordinated to the objectives of the plan, then a very real contradiction between planning and markets would obtain.

It is important, then, for our purposes to give careful consideration to the pricing, market and adjustment mechanisms that would be characteristic of C&S, demonstrating, as we should, how each of the above would not only be compatible with real planning but, indeed, actual expressions of the plan. To be adequate, they must be internally consistent and coherent with the underlying ideology and peculiar institutional forms of C&S.

In our discussion of the methodology of planning, we found that the fundamental purpose of production in C&S was to satisfy individual and social needs that are explicitly contained in the social contract. They included consumption and production needs (including work and living conditions), both of which are to be satisfied now and in the future; the latter, of course, reflecting the intertemporal justice requirements. Moreover, it should not be lost sight of, that in providing to its members the three equalities spoken of in the previous chapter, namely, consumer, producer and citizen equality, C&S would have as part of its social needs to be satisfied the reproduction of the social relations that these three

equalities embody. Maximizing the satisfaction of these material and institutional needs would be considered as the criterion of "collective economic rationality," or "collective sovereignty," analogous to individual economic rationality and consumer's sovereignty. But the collective rationality in the C&S case, unlike individual rationality, necessarily yields prices, supplies and demands that are consonant with the "right" distribution of income and wealth, so that the structure of production is not distorted by extra market conditions; and also, since there is full participation in decisions concerning goods and services to be used collectively for social ends, there is no meaningful distinction between public and private goods. If Pareto optimally has any meaning in a system like C&S, we can therefore say that, in contrast to free enterprise, the C&S system will yield an optimum optimorum instead of a sheaf of optima. It is too much to expect, however, that a system like C&S will make accurate decisions in terms of marginal trade-offs. It will have to be satisfied instead with gross results based on aggregates and averages. In this sense, the system will fall short of full economic efficiency. But this is the price paid for achieving full distributional efficiency (justice), and signifies a preference for having enough for everyone rather than the highest possible GNP.

Because the decision-making process, or the system of procedural justice of common consent as elaborated in Chapter Five, is to operate among the collectivity of

consumers, producers and citizens, it would be useful to think of C&S as a perfectly "collective" model of socioeconomic organization. This is made all the more apparent by recalling the second characteristic of the contract. Rather than justice being confined only to procedural justice, the social contract explicitly extends the concept of justice to include end states or goals that are to obtain within and between generations. Though obligatory, these principles have been voluntarily accepted by those who enter the system and consequently must give direction to and constrain the collective decision-making procedure. When viewed this way, it should be seen that social opportunity costs do not arise in the same way as in a market system (modern economic welfare theory) which lacks a procedure for collective decisions and notably ignores any judgements about the "social usefulness" or "justice" of the decisions which are individually taken.

Within the constraints of justice, however, the collective consensual decision-making process of C&S provides the basis for making social comparisons of permissible alternatives given available resources. In making these choices, the collectivity must become aware of the social opportunity costs of selecting one among two or more mutually exclusive alternatives even though, as noted earlier, the calculations may not be very fine grained in the marginal sense.[17]

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[17]Brigham Young clearly perceived the differences between private and social calculations and the importance of the latter as it related to the requirements of the social contract. In his words:

Consequently, there is every reason why we should think (in terms of formal analysis) of both social utility indifference curves and social production indifference curves. Indeed, these concepts have a significance in C&S that they cannot support in an atomistic consumers' sovereignty economy, where the problems of defining social indifference curves are well known. C&S limits substitutability, however, by specifying what end states of justice must be achieved; these limitations being applicable to both demand and supply as they are contained in the contract. That is, the contract specifies

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"Never count the costs? If I am going to build a temple, I am not going to sit down and count the cost. I care not what it will cost. I have built a great many houses, and never counted the cost before I built them. I never wanted to know anything about it" (J.D. vol. 8, p. 355, 1862).

On another occasion, he qualifies this statement:

". . . counting the cost may possibly be done in such a way, that a man would not allow himself to perform the least duty of a public character, without first stopping to inquire whether it will pay, or how much it will cost him, and if he fails to see an immediate return [emphasis added] of an immense interest for payment outlays, he clutches his money or his property. . . . It seldom happens, however that the very excellent practice of counting the cost--excellent when employed at the proper time and on proper occasions--is called into requisition when human pride has to be pampered and satisfied. I would not have the Saints count the cost in the way the wicked, avarice would do, for true Saints always have a fund of faith, to join with their labor and means. . . . When the Saints are required to embark in any public enterprise, the word should not be . . . 'What will it cost, and will it pay, etc?' but, 'It is a work for the public good and we can do it'" (J.D. vol. 10, p. 362, 1864).

For a similar view of the "heroic" ethic where social alternatives must be chosen among a community of "Saints," see Kenneth Boulding, "Economics as a Moral Science," in Economics as a Science (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970), pp. 117-38.

limitations on the quantity, quality and kinds of consumption goods as well as the condition of production, working conditions, and the quality and kinds of its technical processes. All of these limitations, or more precisely, contractual guidelines, on both supply and demand, interact with one another to achieve the desired results of the contract.

In this way, all externalities in C&S are internalized by the achievement of its just goals through its procedural system of justice. It is because of C&S's critical moral philosophy of justice which seeks a unity of minds in terms of procedure and goals that distinctly sets it apart from the competitive model, modern welfare economics, capitalism and many theories and practices of socialism. In each of the above, externalities are either ignored, lack a procedure to handle them, or are undefined except in the minds of those who make the decisions.

Since the (private) competitive model ignores externalities, it has no need for a procedure to handle them. Under modern welfare economics, though externalities are recognized to arise, no procedure to handle them exists. Indeed, there is an implicit willingness to relinquish to political authority the task of providing solutions in internalizing externalities. This willingness has its empirical counterpart under "liberal" capitalism where externalities are as a general rule internalized by a majority coalition or an establishment which possesses the political power to effectively pursue their own ends. This calls into question, immediately, the naive

assumption made by many liberal economists that public officials are somehow different in motivation and behavior than their competitive private counterparts, where the former are implicitly assumed to unquestionably serve the "public interest."

Historical experience in the West has shown that so many of the decisions taken by governments have actually exacerbated the problem of negative externalities, particularly for those who are, in a de facto sense, effectively disenfranchised in the political process. When positive decisions are made to handle externalities, these have, with some exceptions, been predominantly realized when they are not at odds with the long, if not short run, goal of profit maximization. The one consistent extension of the neoclassical (private) model to that of collective choice, however, is that work which has become to be known as the "Virginia School" approach. Essentially, this analysis incorporates the notion of competition in the public domain where individuals, acting as citizens, competitively bargain for the internalization of externalities. Though a procedure exists in this model to collectively handle externalities, it, too, ignores evaluating the "social usefullness" or "justice" of the resultant ends of the decision-making process.[18]

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[18]For a very good sampling of this approach, see R. C. Amacher, R. D. Tollison and T. D. Willett, eds., The Economic Approach to Public Policy: Selected Readings (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1976). To achieve a high level of efficiency in public choice leads, in this analysis, to the suggestion for more decentralization in government structure and scale where an increased degree of citizen homogeneity within separate political units would make it possible to obtain a higher degree of consensus in, at least, the articulation of demands for public goods. This preference

Under the form of socialism where decisions are made by a central authority, i.e., central committee or dictator, then externalities do not arise. Conceptually they are internalized by the one central mind, which arbitrarily defines what decisions are and are not to be taken. The general polity, in this case, without participation, can only hope that what the center does is consistent with their own preferences and judgements as to what constitutes an externality.[19]

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for maximizing individual freedom in both the consumption of private and public goods is essentially a prescription of "procedural justice," limited, however, to the individual as consumer and citizen. To the extent, however, that one recognizes the significant interdependencies, interactions and feedback effects of the private with the public spheres and again among the several smaller scale political units, and to the extent that credence is given to the argument that the natural tendencies of market relations is away from the conclusions of the competitive model but, rather, towards monopoly, protectionism, environmental degradation, income inequalities and unemployment, which would appear as disparities within and especially among separate political units, then these disparities would either be allowed to continue or, if not, a larger role for collective choice would be necessary at higher levels of government organization. Without this correction, an increasing number of externalities that would be fostered would appear as mercantilistic or exploitive features among the several smaller political units. Moreover, in the absence of contractually held principles of end-state justice, no guarantee would be made that these inegalitarian externalities would ever be internalized.

[19]It is instructive for our purposes, in this regard, to note Robert L. Heilbroner's recent suggestion that strong (world) authoritarian government(s) may be essential if human survival is to be assured. Heilbroner discusses the externalities that constitute the "ecological armageddon" that forebodingly threatens the survival of the human species and argues why existing systems are incapable of providing a solution.

Though his own sense of justice reacts against the denial of individual freedoms by authoritarian governments,

Under self-managed market economies, negative externalities would most likely be reduced and positive ones fostered by virtue of the fact that procedural justice has been extended to the individual in the work place rather than only to the individual as consumer. This extension of the decision-making process would, undoubtedly, increase the effective realization of political democracy to the individual in his/her role as citizen.[20] However, in the absence of explicitly defined goals or end states of justice (other than maximizing income per worker) which a polity accepts by social contract and endeavors to achieve through compatible institutional forms, such a system, though clearly superior to capitalism in handling externalities, would not likely be able to avoid the emergence of many important externalities, let alone consistently handle them.

In actuality, both in capitalist and socialist societies, political action does intervene to a greater or lesser degree

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"candor compels" him "to suggest that the passage through the gauntlet ahead may be possible only under" such governments.

What is notably absent in Heilbroner's thesis is a philosophical theory of justice which would provide the raison d'être of a system that would make possible the internalization of his self-defined externalities, not by compulsion but by free contract, participation and compatible procedural and institutional forms. In short, without such a philosophical and institutional basis of justice, no guarantee could ever be assumed that authoritarian governments would either rally freely or by compulsion the obedience necessary, or that such governments would, for even a short time, remain committed to the goals of justice and even "human survival."

See Robert L. Heilbroner, An Inquiry Into the Human Prospect (New York: W. W. Norton, 1974), especially p. 110.

[20]See Vanek, The General Theory, pp. 274-9.

to account for political and social priorities (externalities), which cannot be handled by the requirements of the law of value; indeed in many cases are created by it. However, in the absence of both a collective procedure and a well-established set of popularly supported goals, this intervention is too often haphazard, arbitrary, and subject to compromisable and capricious enforcement. This is one of the reasons why in some socialist countries today more and more latitude is being given to the law of value where prices are more easily given by the spontaneous workings of the market. Similarly, in capitalist countries many resource allocation questions which had been deliberately removed from the market by political decisions because of the undesirable effects which result from market relationships, are now, in many cases, being recommended by public resource economists and politicians to reenter the market.

It is precisely because of the absence in actual societies of certain collectively affirmed goals and compatible political-economic institutional and ideological conditions that disallows the internalization of externalities from being consistently achieved.

C&S, however, does provide the procedure and the goals where the totality of social costs in relation to needs are evaluated together, rather than separately. It requires and provides the mutual interdependence among all branches of production and consumption and again within each of these groups. It recognizes that it would be impossible and even

undesirable for a singular central authority to possess the capacity to perform such an enormous task.[21] As such, many evaluations would therefore be conducted by the enterprises which are in a position better suited to consider those alternatives, both possible and substitutable, and about which they are most intimately familiar, as well as because of their close proximity to the desired levels of needs collectively expressed by consumers. The accumulation and dissemination of this information would be processed through the center so that a convergence and coordination of these evaluations would be possible. The center, however, should not be thought of solely as a processor of information. It too, would conduct separate evaluations with an eye to include the totality of all sub-unit evaluations. As we have seen, the final decisions which are ultimately made must be affirmed by the community as a whole. Each step in this process guarantees a "socially controllable" degree of interconnection among the several labor processes so that conformity to the social contract is realized.[22]

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[21]Much use could be made, in the actual structure of planning, of matrix calculation and linear and nonlinear programming calculations to achieve a high level of consistency in planning.

[22]This point has been especially made by Charles Bettelheim, Economic Calculation and Forms of Property (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975), p. 154. Bettelheim's general argument is that a relative price structure in a socialist society must be finally determined by developing a form of "social economic calculation" which would account for the socially useful effects of labor and their social utility. He argues that this type of calculation, if it is at all

Moreover, it is also important to reconsider another feature of C&S which guarantees against compromising the full requirements of the contract in favor of the law of value. In essence, C&S resolves, theoretically, what existing socialist systems have yet more or less failed to do; that is, the resolution of the contradiction between "property relations and relations of real appropriation."[23] C&S meets this objection of Bettelheim against most socialist countries today. In Bettelheim's view these countries claim to regard property as social, but then fail to require that each producing enterprise transfer its entire social surplus to the community at large. Failure to do this risks the possibility that individual enterprises get a stake in appropriating and attempting to enhance their share of the social surplus. This creates an opposition between the interests of society and those of individual enterprises which tends to devolve towards a system with many characteristics of private enterprise; that is, a system in which private ends (financial profitability) take place over ends of social justice and survival.

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possible, must be considered as real economic calculation, performed independently of a system of money prices, though once performed could then be expressed in monetary magnitudes. As useful as his approach is, we are making the argument below that in C&S the social contract provides an external standard of what constitutes "social usefulness" and that if the contract is realized through its collective procedure then relative price determination expressed in monetary magnitudes becomes an easier and feasible operation.

What is important for our purposes in Bettelheim's work, which is consistent with C&S, is his discussion of the necessary political and ideological relationships which must obtain if social evaluations of alternatives are ever to be possible.

[23] Ibid., pp. 71-104.

These problems would not arise in C&S precisely because of the correspondence between the mode of appropriation and mode of property control. All surpluses and deficits of each enterprise are to be deposited into and allocated from the Treasury/Storehouse. It is this close correspondence which would preserve the requirements of the contract.

Next, we must consider how the system would operate during a period according to plan. The other main problem is one of adjusting to the differences between planned results and actual results that will inevitably emerge in the short-run.

In a private enterprise economy these adjustments occur primarily through changes in prices; secondarily through changes in inventories. In C&S the opposite would be true. This is because the concern of C&S is with physical quantities and material surpluses; money and prices being employed solely as a convenience to avoid the cumbersomeness of barter exchange.[24] In other words, we can say that the day-to-day fluctuations in C&S will be handled more by means of an inventory adjustment mechanism than by a price adjustment mechanism.

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[24]Ibid., pp. 157-64. Fundamentally, money in C&S is to perform the role of a medium of exchange in contributing to the realization of the economic plan. It assumes this role by virtue of the fact that the several enterprises and units of consumption are relatively autonomous, making, as we have stated above, a direct distribution of the means of production and articles of consumption difficult to effect in a socially efficient manner.

To prevent, however, any or all enterprises from gaining complete autonomy which could lead to the non-subordination of the plan, but to confine the role of money to efficient plan fulfillment, controls, regulation and intervention obtains at both the ideological level and political level. We have already seen that at the ideological level the central

Therefore, prices determine nothing, but rather are determined by the distribution of income, the allocation of resources, the level and kind of technology which are determined outside of a system of prices. If the contract has been upheld in the planning process, making the distributions and allocations "right," then the price structure should also be considered "right." The longer the C&S history, the longer prices will have been strongly influenced by historical C&S income distribution, resource allocation, technology, etc. So long as this system of planned prices is given to the individual production and consumption units, they should then be able to conduct their affairs in close conformity to the plan. Each enterprise could then assume that when it minimizes its cost-prices, other things being equal, any means or method of production previously decided upon would lead to a high level of social efficiency.

Of course, prices will change over time, exhibiting long-term trends to reflect changes in relative social costs

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authorities audit each enterprise for the purpose of enforcing the required behavior of honesty, discipline and participation.

At the political level, two types of intervention are available. First, the central authorities of the community intervene at the economic level to ensure that the distributions from the Treasury/Storehouse are based on correct planning both in terms of supplies and prices. Second, to guarantee against abuse by those administering the central institutions, and who are responsible for monetary functions, their actions are to be regularly scrutinized by the common consent of the community at large.

See Bettelheim's discussion of the role of money in Economic Calculation, pp. 157-161, especially p. 161.

and social utilities but these, too, would emerge as correct modifications of existing prices through the collective planning process.

The main problem in such a system is to see to it that the planned prices and planned quantities (during a planning period) are such that the amount of consumption income and the amount of replacement and net investment funds that enterprises have to spend, balance out to the values produced so as to arrive at a consistent social account for each sector and the economy as a whole.

Finally, to argue that prices would be right because they would not reflect the distorting influences of a "wrong" income distribution does not presume that mistakes would not be made in the planning process. Mistakes, of course, would be made through ignorance, misjudgement, slippages, etc. Actual money prices would not necessarily be precisely and immediately equivalent to those which would actually clear the market and thus avoid the need for inventory adjustments. Actual market-clearing prices may depart more or less significantly from the set of planned prices when variations in demand and supply based on inaccurate planned estimates of them are finally accounted for, thus making short-run adjustments a necessary feature.

The institutional mechanisms that deal with gluts and shortfalls and the concomitant effects on the enterprises remain as our final consideration.

Three adjustment possibilities present themselves. The first might be to hold planned prices fixed during a planning period, without allowing any deviations from them. All adjustments would then, necessarily, come from changes in inventories; that is, in the short-run there would be storage of excess supply and the drawing down of stocks or rationing in the shortfall. Any unplanned excesses of supply, relative to demand, would be deposited into the Central Storehouse (or at least recorded there), and any deficiencies would be supplied from Central stocks or, if these did not suffice, a system of rationing could be employed to ensure an equitable distribution according to the needs criteria.[25] To say that inventory stocks are drawn down in a current short-fall, however, means more than relying upon unplanned surplus to meet the demand. A critical requirement in C&S is to plan for the maintenance of inventories, particularly of basic needs.[26] Hence, a replenishing of actual inventories to the desired levels would be necessary to meet this requirement and allow for the cycle to start over again.

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[25]The problem of Black Markets arising under a rationing plan would be severely curtailed under C&S. Black Markets emerge for two reasons. First, unequal incomes provide the means (for those with high incomes) to effectively bribe the sellers of a limited supply, thus subverting a rationing plan. Second, the problem of policing a rationing scheme is made extremely difficult, if not virtually impossible, because of the large numbers of retailers marketing the output. Both problems are handled in C&S by equity criterion in the distribution of income and by a significant reduction in the number of retailers. Each stewardship is also subject to a regular audit which would further discourage black market activity.

[26]This is the rationale of the current food and other

The second type of adjustment mechanism would be a market-clearing price one. If no enterprise was permitted to make inventory adjustments nor to deviate from planned inventories, then market prices would have to be adjusted accordingly; permitting them to fall when there is an unplanned and undesired increase in inventories and to rise in the opposite case.

This mode of adjustment would be particularly problemsome in C&S, however, where the income distribution that had been previously established by its justice requirements would be distorted by deviations of market prices from planned prices. Such distortions, though correctable in principle by ex poste distributions or charges, would best be minimized or avoided.

Moreover, this second type of adjustment, taken exclusively by itself, is made even less adequate when we consider the very real possibilities of errors being made on both the demand and production side. Mistakes in planning as well as untoward natural occurrences such as weather conditions, technical breakdowns, entrepreneurial improvements in techniques, etc., would no doubt occasion corresponding unplanned excesses or deficiencies of supply. The required price adjustments would be especially exacerbated if actual production deviations and demand deviations from the planned levels

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basic needs storage program in the Mormon Church. Although the program in operation today calls on individual families to store against a future short-fall, under C&S storage would be undertaken at the community level as well.

were to work in the opposite directions, i.e., either actual demand exceeded planned demand and actual supply fell short of planned supply or the reverse. The required price changes would, of course, be reduced if the deviations of actual supply and demand worked in the same direction. In the fortunate situation where the deviations were proportionate, then no price changes would be necessary at all.

The third adjustment possibility and the one that seems most appropriate for C&S would be to work some combination of inventory and price changes depending on the particular situation that arises. To see the desirability and feasibility of this flexibile approach, it is important to recognize the inextricable relationship that exists between the Central Treasury and Storehouse. Both represent depositories into which actual surpluses in money and kind are paid by each enterprise and from which (in the short-run) payments are made to cover deficits. That is, gains and losses experienced by any production units are absorbed by these two central institutions.

Moreover, because of the planning methodology and the auditing procedure of each enterprise by the central authorities, information is effectively relayed by each enterprise to the center concerning the movement of stocks as well as the financial surplus so that an aggregate picture of actual economic activity in the community is obtained. Indeed, the centralization of information is one of the prominent features

of C&S which allows for both the correct kind and magnitude of adjustments to be employed.

By fostering such a high level of information sharing, individual production units would be able to make more enlightened decisions. The center, of course, which is responsible for seeing to it that the plan is upheld still has power to intervene and, as such, could be regarded as the "adjuster of last resort."

As a source of this information, the center could provide inter-enterprise movements of stocks when aggregate supply and demand may be in balance at the planned price but where deficiencies or surpluses may obtain for individual enterprises in the same line of production. This would avoid false price movements that otherwise would obtain in the absence of perfect information.

If planned prices were not adequate to clear the market, the center would still be in a better position, given its information, to aid enterprises to make more accurate price adjustments. Alternative outlets of surpluses or sources of supply from other communities could be relayed continuously through the Treasury/Storehouse of each community to effect the most desirable adjustments.

However, except in cases where price changes are dictated by long-run changes in relative social costs, it may be desirable in many situations to maintain constant prices throughout a planning period and allow changes in demand to alter the composition of output. If inventories in a particular line

are in excess of the planned levels because of shifting demand, then the decision to cut back on production without changing prices might be adequate. Planners could then, in consultation with the affected enterprises, decide upon changing the quality of design to meet consumer preferences; or possibly shift resources to another line.

Many of these adjustment decisions could be left entirely to the enterprises themselves. However, the center through its monitoring capacity, i.e., the audit, and its accumulation of information, would still possess the right to be the "adjuster of last resort" and therefore intervene on behalf of the community so that markets are not allowed to get out of hand in thwarting the requirements of the contract.

In the situation where actual prices depart from planned prices, an enterprise's actual financial surplus will also be different from the planned surplus and may be a deficit. This, of course, would not present a problem. In the case where an actual financial surplus exceeded the planned level, the enterprise would deposit the excessive amount into the Treasury. If some enterprises came up short, even to the extent of incurring deficits, then the Treasury would subsidize these units. The gains and losses for each enterprise would be absorbed by the Treasury/Storehouse without in any way adversely prejudicing the distribution.

To be sure, not all enterprises in each homogeneous line of production would necessarily perform at the same level with others. Differences in skill, capital, technology and

managerial acumen would, no doubt, dictate variations in economic performance and the planned surplus. These differences, however, would not only be ascertained through the auditing and planning process but, as legitimate differences, they would be understood, approved and therefore justified. Real sanctions against enterprises would be imposed only if dishonesty, idleness and a general disregard for the requirements of the social contract was a persistent behavior pattern. In these cases, the assets of the enterprise may be liquidated, transferred to others, or management may be replaced, depending on the nature and source of the malperformance. For struggling enterprises that are unable, for "legitimate" reasons to achieve comparable economic performance with the more successful ones, financial, technical and personnel assistance would be offered so that long-run economic stability and social efficiency could be achieved.

The significance of the social contract and the planning implied by it is located within two fundamental answers to the question of social justice. The first is the fairness of the fully participatory rules of decision-making. But, as is well known, mere fairness or impartiality of rules does not answer the further issue of allocative and distributive justice. The second answer, however, specifically addresses the fundamental problem of social allocation and distribution by specifying who is entitled to which claims on the control and use of society's common resources. These two characteristics of the social contract are linked to each other in a very

important way. Thus, the social criteria of justice are principles which stand for the mutually accepted general interests of society, which must be consulted and adhered to if a particular social allocation is to be considered just; and, in addition, the participatory rules allow for choices to be made among the many feasibly just alternatives which are possible at any particular time. Therefore, the equivalent of Pareto welfare efficiency in C&S is a situation of "justice optimality," in which no socially approved improvement in the intra- and inter-temporal distribution of well-being is technically feasible.[27]

As was stated in the beginning of this study, the fully participatory planning and decision processes of C&S would match the real community indifference map to the real community transformation possibilities, and would also match socially determined utilities to socially evaluated opportunity costs. These "real" costs and utilities reflect collective judgements of what is socially desirable, subject to what is socially possible--judgements that change through time as the result of development and learning, and that are subject at any time to the persuasive influence of appeals to resolve conflicts of economic interest by resort to the accepted criteria of social justice.

Thus, planning in C&S must be seen as something more than a document. It calls for the simultaneous consideration

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[27]This is a more workable alternative to the concept of a social welfare function put forward by Bergson and elaborated by Samuelson, Arrow and others.

of real social relations which are at once moral, political, and ideological and which dominate over market relations. These planned social relations are fundamental in the articulation, formulation and implementation of the plan itself. It would, therefore, be inaccurate to represent C&S as a "guided market" system or a "controlled socialist market" where market relations, to a large extent, still dominate in determining the product mix, the volume of accumulation and its distribution among various sectors. Rather than reflecting market relations, these decisions in C&S would be expressions of the "social direction" of the economy. Thus prices in ideal Mormon society would not be determined by atomistic markets but would be determined by the operational planning procedure which, by design, accounts for both supply and demand up from the grassroots level.

Those who are used to the idea that prices are the instrument for matching consumer preferences to production possibilities and therefore are the instrument for achieving an efficient allocation of resources, may find it difficult to appreciate that in C&S prices are purely a matter of convenience and serve the interests of a resource allocation process that is carried out independently of market forces and prices. In other words, C&S by making social justice its principle focus, turns and must turn, the market system on its head, making market prices and market forces its servants rather than its masters. On this view prices and markets can be seen simply as a machine to carry out the social

will, much as an automobile is the machine to carry out the will of the driver. The driver, not the machine, chooses the most efficient route. But in C&S the major emphasis will be placed on the scenic and other satisfactions to be derived from the journey rather than on arriving at one's destination in the most economically efficient way, by the shortest distance and the fastest time.

So long as the planned procedures and relationships hold, one of the subsidiary and convenient functions of markets is that they can be usefully employed as an aid in the readjustment processes when maladjustments occur. Because quantity changes and actual market clearing prices could be used alternatively or in combination with each other, they represent an arsenal of weapons for C&S to bring about any necessary adjustments both smoothly and speedily.

To the extent that C&S employs its collective procedure in achieving the general goals of the contract where social costs and utilities are effectively accounted for through as close an approximation to consensus as feasible; where avoided are the instabilities and disproportions so characteristic of both the operational private enterprise system and a singular bureaucratic central authority, C&S sees the reconciliation of planning with human freedom and can be regarded as a socially efficient system of justice.

## Chapter VII

## CONCLUSIONS

In anticipation of the particular criticism that C&S is an Utopian system rather than a practical Topia, it should be kept in mind that our purpose in this study has been to describe its ideal operation in the sense of accepting, at least conceptually, the prescriptive revelations to the prophet Joseph Smith at their face value. Moreover, we have assumed that this doctrinal foundation of C&S is unchanging and that Mormons believe (or should believe) that it is a system that they must and can move towards as part of their contractual obligations.

To be sure, any further attempts (for they are beginning) on the part of modern Mormondom to plan a strategy for the full implementation of C&S would necessarily require serious consideration of the problematic in the transition. If history, particularly Mormon history, is any guide, such a strategy must entertain the possibility of a renewed opposition from without, not to mention the prospect of internal reluctance. Moreover, strategists should be especially concerned to avoid scrupulously the risks of C&S being structurally co-opted during a transition. For this reason it would be imperative to have a complete understanding of the ideal defining characteristics of C&S as a goal towards which to work.

It should not be presumed, however, that any claim to completeness has been made in this study; nor is there any

presumption of having achieved complete accuracy in all of the particulars discussed. Many aspects of C&S have been dealt with only partially; much additional thought is neces-- sary. While this study does, it is believed, present an accurate summary of the ideological foundations of C&S, it gives little more than a broad overview of the structural interface between the ideal aims of C&S and the institutional arrangements required to achieve these aims in practice. Whenever, and if, there should be serious public discussion of institutional change in the Mormon community, it is imperative to understand that there is a great inconsistency between the free enterprise institutions that now dominate the economic activities of Mormons and those required to achieve the aims of C&S as originally revealed to Joseph Smith. In particular, it should be emphasized that a singular concern for "rigorous economic analysis" in the neo-classical tradition, without recognizing the incompatibility between its moral philosophy and institutional arrangements and those of C&S, can impede progress towards achievement of Mormon ideals.

Consider the critical defining characteristics of C&S as presented in this study. First, C&S is founded upon a moral philosophy which explicitly deals with crucial issues of right and wrong. Though mankind is believed to have existed as free and morally equal persons in a very real pre-earth existence and to have the capacity for moving towards ultimate perfection, the protection of free agency and the opposite capacity for wrong doing accounts for the devastating effects upon the

human, biological and physical environments throughout the world's history. These endemic injustices through time are a stark manifestation of the synergistic effects of selfish choice.

The Mormon view is that all of the earth's inhabitants, though having recognized in their original position their capacity for both selfish and unselfish choice, shared with each other a conception of justice and voluntarily opted to enter a contractual agreement for social cooperation and thereby became responsible and accountable for all their actions in mortality. A central theme in the Mormon worldview could best be indicated by using the word "interdependency." Mormons see interdependency or interrelatedness as the healthy or normal state of God, man, and the universe. Free agency and individual responsibility for the consequences of one's actions includes the agency to make oneself responsible for the welfare of others, unless they refuse such help. While individuals, families, and communities are each supposed to be as "self-sufficient" as possible, they are at the same time responsible for the well-being of all others (in and outside of the church, including past and future generations), and also for protecting the earth. Each being responsible for the consequences of their own choices <u>includes</u> a responsibility for making choices concerning being one's brother's keeper. The universe is seen as reflecting an interdependence at every level, God and man, man and community, community and earth. For Mormons, self-sufficiency and interdependence are not

logically incompatible.[1] This view, therefore, underlies the whole structure of C&S.

Rather than assuming that the basis for social change is located independently in the dialectics of materialism, though the latter might very well be the catalytic agent in unlocking, for many, their good natures, the Mormon view sees the transformation of society towards more humaneness only accomplished by both a radical change on the individual moral level and by change of the social structure. To accomplish this task in a perceptibly orderly way individuals are confronted with the choice of wholly accepting or not accepting a specified set of just principles which are located in a social contract. Analogous to and supportive of each of these principles of justice are institutional counterparts which are designed to foster the appropriate individual behavior and put checks on deviant or backsliding tendencies. Mormons in actual society who embrace the system of C&S are reaffirming their belief in both the justice and theological legitimacy of that social order. Non-Mormons who enter the system are affirming their own belief in the justice principles of C&S without necessarily accepting its divine origin.

The first principle of the contract is the requirement that participatory self-management be guaranteed to all members of the system. This principle must be viewed as both a means to achieve certain ends as well as a goal itself. As a

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[1]For the observation and development of this idea, I am indebted to Gordon Thomasson.

goal it is intended to protect freedom, foster responsibility and develop the unlimited creative potential of the individual. Institutionally, participatory self-management is to characterize the decision-making process at all social levels in which individuals customarily find themselves.

On the other hand, participation represents the means through which the other principles of justice are to be especially tailored to meet the particular historical and cultural variations of actual C&S communities. These other principles include a distribution based on the familiar dictum of "from each according to abilities, to each according to needs," non-alienating work, the replacement of resources and the restoration of human and physical environmental health and beauty. The latter is especially important for the purpose of undoing what past free agent and unjust societies (or more precisely unjust controlling groups of past societies) have bequeathed to their descendant generations.

For these principles, too, we find, in addition to participatory rights, institutional mechanisms which are coherent, consistent and compatible with justice. In short, these other principles will find expression through a system of social property and planning which is institutionally represented by each community having control over the social surplus that is deposited into and allocated from a central treasury/storehouse, and from which intercommunity redistributions are also made.

The unanimous acceptance of just principles points up the need for guidance in their full implementation at all levels of social organization. Combined with self-management at the family, enterprise and community levels, the end states of justice also lead to the awareness of the inseparable connection of personal and social interests.

C&S, therefore, should not be interpreted as a liberal view of social, political and economic coordination which essentially means, in dyadic terms, that person A will do what B wants because B makes it worth A's while to do it. Nor should it be confused with a hierarchical model where A will do what B wants because B has authority over A. The motivation and the authority in C&S derive jointly from the voluntarily accepted principles of justice, from the participatory and consensual processes that link principle to practice and from a resulting awareness that the system works more justly than other observable systems. For these reasons, C&S can be compared favorably with a model of altruistic collaboration, where A does what B wants because he/she wants to help, because it is right and just to do so.[2]

To move in the direction of C&S represents, for Mormons, a great challenge and opportunity. For all seekers after social justice such an effort should be received with warm encouragement.

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[2]Brian Barry, The Liberal Theory of Justice (London: Oxford Press, 1973), p. 167.

## Appendix I

## REVELATIONS TO THE PROPHET JOSEPH SMITH

The revelations to the prophet Joseph Smith cited below are, in rudimentary form, the basis of the system of C&S. Though the interpretation given in this study substantially elaborates upon them and is done from a particular conceptual perspective, every effort has been made to remain consistent with them; as well as the interpretations and elaborations of them by Joseph Smith, his close associates and his prophetic successors.

Rather than presenting them below in the chronology as given, they have been organized in a somewhat more topical fashion.

> I, the Lord, stretched out the heavens, and built the earth, my very handiwork; and all things therein are mine.
>
> And it is my purpose to provide for my saints, for all things are mine.
>
> But it must needs be done in mine own way; and behold this is the way that I, the Lord, have decreed to provide for my saints, that the poor shall be exalted, in that the rich are made low (D&C 104:14-16).

> That you may be equal in the bonds of heavenly things, yea, and earthly things also, for the obtaining of heavenly things.
>
> For if ye are not equal in earthly things ye cannot be equal in obtaining heavenly things (D&C 78:5-6).

For, behold, the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air, and that which cometh of the earth, is ordained for the use of man for food and raiment, and that he might have in abundance.

But it is not given that one man should possess that which is above another, wherefore the world lieth in sin (D&C 49:19-20).

For the earth is full, and there is enough and to spare; yea, I prepared all things, and have given unto the children of men to be agents unto themselves.

Therefore, if any man shall take of the abundance which I have made, and impart not his portion, according to the law of my gospel, unto the poor and the needy, he shall, with the wicked, lift up his eyes in hell, being in torment (D&C 104:17-18).

And it pleaseth God that he hath given all these things unto Man, for unto this end were they made to be used, with judgement, not to excess, neither by extortion [Emphasis added] (D&C 59:20).

If thou lovest me thou shalt serve me and keep all my commandments. And behold, thou wilt remember the poor, and consecrate of thy properties for their support that which thou hast to impart unto them, with a covenant and a deed which cannot be broken.

. . . and they shall be laid before the bishop of my church, and after that he has received these testimonies concerning the consecration of the properties of my church, . . . that they cannot be taken from the church, agreeable to my commandments, every man shall be made accountable unto me, a steward over his own property, or to that which he has received by consecration, as much as is sufficient for himself and his family (D&C 49:29-32).

Wherefore, let my servant Edward Partridge [the first Mormon bishop], and those whom he has chosen, in whom I am well pleased, appoint unto this people their portions, every man equal according to his family, according to his circumstances and his wants and needs.

And let my servant Edward Partridge, when he shall appoint a man his portion, that he shall hold it, even

this right and this inheritance in the church, until he transgresses and is not accounted worthy by the voice of the church, according to the laws and covenants of the church, to belong to the church.

And if he shall transgress and is not accounted worthy to belong to the church, he shall not have power to claim that portion which he has consecrated unto the bishop for the poor and needy of my church; therefore, he shall not retain the gift, but shall only have claim on that portion that is deeded unto him (D&C 51:3-5).

And again, if there shall be properties in the hands of the church, or any individuals of it, more than is necessary for their support after this first consecration, which is a residue to be consecrated unto the bishop, it shall be kept to administer to those who have not, from time to time, that every man who has need may be amply supplied and receive according to his wants (D&C 42:33).

And this shall be done through the Bishop or the agent, which shall be appointed by the voice of the church.

And again, let the bishop appoint a storehouse unto this church; and let all things both in money and in meat, which are more than is needful for the wants of this people, be kept in the hands of the bishop (D&C 51:12-3).

Therefore, the residue shall be kept in my storehouse, to administer to the poor and the needy, as shall be appointed by the high council of the church, and the bishop and his council.

And for the purpose of purchasing lands for the public benefit of the church, and building houses of worship, and building up of the New Jerusalem which is hereafter to be revealed" (D&C 42:34-5).

All children have claim upon their parents for their maintenance until they are of age.

And after that, they have claim upon the church, or in other words upon the Lord's storehouse, if their parents have not wherewith to give them inheritances.

And the storehouse shall be kept by the consecrations of the church; and widows and orphans shall be provided for, as also the poor (D&C 83:4-6).

And again, a commandment I give you concerning your stewardship which I have appointed unto you.

Behold, all these properties are mine, or else your faith is vain, and ye are found hypocrites, and the covenants which ye have made unto me are broken.

And if the properties are mine, then ye are stewards; otherwise ye are no stewards.

But, verily I say unto you, I have appointed unto you to be stewards over mine house, even stewards indeed (D&C 104:54-7).

For the purpose of building up my church and kingdom on the earth, and to prepare my people for the time when I shall dwell with them, which is nigh at hand (D&C 104:59).

It is wisdom in me; therefore, a commandment I give unto you, that ye shall organize yourselves and appoint every man his stewardship (D&C 104:11).

And again, there shall be [a] treasury prepared, and a treasurer appointed to keep the treasury . . .

And all moneys that you receive in your stewardships, by improving upon the properties which I have appointed unto you, in houses or in lands, or in cattle . . . shall be cast into the treasury as fast as you receive moneys, by hundreds, or by fifties, or by twenties, or by tens, or by fives.

Or in other words, if any man among you obtain five talents [dollars] let him cast them into the treasury; or if he obtain ten, or twenty, or fifty, or an hundred, let him do likewise:

And let not any among you say that it is his own; for it shall not be called his, nor any part of it (D&C 104: 67-70).

[But] you are to be equal, or in other words, you are to have equal claims on the properties, for the benefit of managing the concerns of your stewardships, every man according to his wants and his needs, inasmuch as his wants are just . . .

And all this for the benefit of the church of the living God, that every man may improve upon his talent, that every man may gain other talents, yea, even an hundred fold, to be cast into the Lord's storehouse, to become the common property of the whole church . . . (D&C 82: 17-19).

And there shall not any part of it be used, or taken out of the treasury, only by the voice and common consent of the order.

And this shall be the voice and common consent of the order--that any man among you say to the treasurer: I have need of this to help me in my stewardship--

If it be five talents [dollars], or if it be ten talents [dollars], or twenty, or fifty, or a hundred, the treasurer shall give unto him in his stewardship--

Until he be found a transgressor, and it manifest before the council of the order plainly that he is an unfaithful and an unwise steward.

But so long as he is in full fellowship, and is faithful and wise in his stewardship, this shall be his token unto the treasurer that the treasurer shall not withhold.

But in case of transgression, the treasurer shall be subject unto the council and voice of the order.

And in case the treasurer is found an unfaithful and an unwise steward, he shall be subject to the council and voice of the order, and shall be removed out of his place, and another shall be appointed in his stead (D&C 104:71-7).

And all things shall be done by common consent in the church (D&C 26:2).

For all things must be done in order, and by common consent in the church, by the prayer of faith (D&C 28:13).

And let all things be done according to the counsel of the order, and united consent or voice of the order, which dwell in the land of Shinehah [Kirtland] (D&C 104:21).

And after you are organized, you shall be called the United Order of the Stake of Zion, the City of Shinehah

[Kirtland]. And your brethren, after they are organized, shall be called the United Order of the City of Zion.

And they shall be organized in their own names, and in their own name; and they shall do their business in their own name, and in their own names.

And you shall do your business in your own name, and in your own names (D&C 104:48-50).

And the inhabitants of Zion also shall remember their labors, inasmuch as they are appointed to labor, in all faithfulness; for the idler shall be had in remembrance before the Lord.

Now, I, the Lord, am not well pleased with the inhabitants of Zion, for there are idlers among them; and their children are also growing up in wickedness; they also seek not earnestly the riches of eternity, but their eyes are full of greediness (D&C 68:30-1).

And again, thou shalt not be proud in they heart; let all they garments be plain, and their beauty the beauty of the work of thine own hands.
. . . .
Thou shalt not be idle; for he that is idle shall not eat the bread nor wear the garments of the laborer (D&C 42:40, 42).

Thou shalt stand in the place of thy stewardship. Thou shalt not take thy brother's garment; thou shalt pay for that which thou shalt receive of thy brother.

And if thou obtainest more than that which would be for thy support, thou shalt give it into my storehouse . . . (D&C 42:53-5).

And let every man deal honestly, and be alike among this people, and receive alike, that ye may be one, even as I have commanded you.

Every man seeking the interest of his neighbor, and doing all things with an eyesingle to the glory of God (D&C 82:19).

It is wisdom in me; therefore, a commandment I give unto you, that ye shall organize yourselves and appoint every man his stewardship;

That every man may give an account unto me of the stewardship which is appointed unto him.

For it is expedient that I, the Lord, should make every man accountable, as a steward over earthly blessings, which I have made and prepared for my creatures (D&C 104:11-13).

And verily in this thing ye have done wisely, for it is required of the Lord, at the hand of every steward, to render an account of his stewardship, both in time and in eternity.

For he who is faithful and wise in time is accounted worthy to inherit the mansions prepared for him of my Father.

Verily I say unto you, the elders of the church in this part of my vineyard shall render an account of their stewardship unto the bishop, who shall be appointed of me in this part of my vineyard (D&C 72:3-5).

## Appendix II

## THE VIEWS OF BRIGHAM YOUNG

Brigham Young's leadership and colonization genius spanned approximately thirty years. His first major responsibility upon assuming the presidency of the Mormon church was to organize and lead the exodus from Nauvoo, Illinois, to the Great Basin Area. This was followed by his substantial overtures to lead the Mormon people into several experiments at cooperation in the face of unyielding opposition which lasted until his death in 1877. Throughout this period, he always had the plan of C&S before him as a goal to ultimately achieve. He had accepted, unquestionably, all of the revelations and the leadership of the martyred prophet Joseph Smith. But Brigham Young's preference for C&S in all of its particulars went beyond a simple faith; it was also conditioned by his experiences with and aversion to industrial capitalism. Apparently he had this attitude all along, but his antagonism towards industrial capitalism was reinforced by three prominent periods which provided the critical background against which he extolled the virtues of C&S. First, as a young missionary in England during the years 1839-1841, Brigham Young witnessed the devastating effects on human lives and the physical environment that was characteristic of industrial capitalism. Second, the Utah War

(Contractors War) of 1857 convinced him of the growing reality of monopoly capitalism in America where powerful private economic interests successfully courted government support (in this instance to obtain exclusive control of the overland freight business) and thus ensure the extraction of monopoly prices. We have already shown that a Federal military force was sent to occupy Utah in order to ensure this control. The third period begins in 1869, with the completion of the Pacific Railroad. With Mormon economic isolationism finally severed, Eastern and Mid-Western enterprises increased their exploitive activities in the Great Basin Area.

The evidence of monopoly capitalism to Brigham Young violated in toto all of the principles of justice which formed the social contract of C&S. Therefore, the inequality, poverty, conspicuous consumption, mercantilism, economic instability, abuse of power, alienation and environmental degradation which the Mormon leader witnessed elicited his denunciation of same.

A careful reading of Brigham Young's discourses reveals this constant and consistent theme. His views are at once polemically normative as they are analytically insightful. What follows in this appendix is an attempt to selectively capture both the content and tone of his views.[1]

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[1]The following abbreviations are used for the material cited in this appendix: J.D., Journal of Discourses, 26 vols. (Liverpool, 1854-1886); M.S., Millennial Star, published in Manchester, England, monthly from 1840 to 1842; published in Liverpool, monthly from 1842 to 1845 and 1943 to 1970; semi-monthly from 1845 to 1851; and weekly from 1852 to 1943; M.,"Manuscript History of the Church," a journal kept by Brigham Young's clerks, Church Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

## A. On Monopoly, Wealth and Power

It has been supposed that wealth gives power. In a depraved state of society, in a certain sense it does, if opening a wild field for unrighteous monopolies, by which the poor are robbed and oppressed and the wealthy are more enriched, is power. In a depraved State of society money can buy positions and titles, can cover up a multitude of incapabilities, can open wide the gates of fashionable society to the lowest and most depraved of human beings; it divides society into castes without any reference to goodness, virtue or truth. It is made to pander to the most brutal passions of the human soul; it is made to subvert every wholesome law of God and man, and to trample down every sacred bond that should tie society together in a national, municipal, domestic and every other relationship. Wealth thus used is used out of its legitimate channel (J.D. Vol. 10, p. 3, 1862).

The experience of mankind has shown that the people of communities and nations among whom wealth is the most equally distributed, enjoy the largest degree of liberty, are the least exposed to tyranny and oppression and suffer the least from luxurious habits which beget vice . . .

One of the great evils with which our own nation is menaced at the present time is the wonderful growth of wealth in the hands of a comparative few individuals. The very liberties for which our fathers contended so steadfastly and courageously, and which they bequeathed to us as a priceless legacy, are endangered by the monstrous power which this accumulation of wealth gives to a few individuals and a few powerful corporations. By its seductive influence results are accomplished which, were it more equally distributed, could be impossible under our form of government . . .

Years ago it was perceived that we . . . were open to the same dangers as those which beset the rest of the world. A condition of affairs existed among us which was favorable to the growth of riches in the hands of a few at the expense of many. A wealthy class was being rapidly formed in our midst whose interests, in the course of time, were likely to be diverse from those of the rest of the community. The growth of such a class was dangerous to our union, and, of all people, we stand most in need of union, and to have our interests

identical. Then it was that . . . we . . . were counselled to enter into cooperation.[1]

B. On Competition

In our trading and trafficking we wish to confine the knowledge of our business in as small a limit as possible, that others may not know what we are doing, lest we should lose our good bargains and fail in our schemes. . . . We all wish to know something that our neighbors do not know. With scientific men you will often find the same trait of character (J.D. Vol. 17, pp. 52, 1874).

But where each one seeks to benefit himself or herself alone, and does not cherish a feeling for the prosperity and benefit of the whole, that people will be disorderly, unhappy, and poverty stricken, and distress, animosity, and strife will reign (J.D. Vol. 3, p. 330, 1856).

But I know that there is no man on this earth who can call around him property, be he a merchant, tradesman, or farmer, with his mind continually occupied with "How shall I get this or that, how rich can I get; or how much can I get out of this brother or from that brother?" and dicker and work, and take advantage here and there . . . no such man ever can . . . enter the celestial kingdom. Now, remember, they will not enter that kingdom (J.D. Vol. 11, p. 297, 1867).

I look around among the world of mankind and see them grabbing, scrambling, contending, and everyone seeking to aggrandize himself, and to accomplish his own individual purposes, passing the community by, walking upon the heads of his neighbors . . . all are seeking, planning, contriving in their wakeful hours, and when asleep dreaming, "How can I get the advantage of my neighbor? How can I spoil him, that I may ascend the ladder of fame?" (J.D. Vol. 15, pp. 18-19, 1872).

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[1]This document is generally known as the "Apostolic Circular" of July 1875 and was signed by Brigham Young, his counsellers and the quorum of the twelve apostles.

Those who are blessed with superior abilities, or whom Providence has placed in more favorable circumstances than others, should use those blessings to . . . render them capable of administering to others less favored. Instead of this, man has become so perverted as to debase his fellows as much as possible from these blessings, and constrain them by physical force or circumstances to contribute of the proceeds of their labor to sustain the favored few (M. Vol. 32, p. 818, 1870).

I will refer to our merchants. I mean our "Mormon merchants" particularly. What do they say about their goods? They do not ask what their goods are worth, or what they paid for them, but what will the people give for them? That is the price. It is not what their goods are really worth. . . . What their goods are worth is not a question with them, but what they can get (J.D. Vol. 11, p. 19, 1864).

Are our merchants honest? I could not be honest and do as they do; they make five hundred percent on some of their goods, and that, too, from an innocent, confiding, poor, industrious people (J.D. Vol. 11, p. 114, 1865).

Sell goods without fraud! That is a point I wish our merchants to look at, if that doesn't hit them square in the face I am mistaken (J.D. Vol. 11, p. 326, 1867).

There are men in this community who, through the force of the education they have received from their parents and friends, would cheat a poor widow out of her last cow, and then go down upon their knees and thank God for the good fortune he had sent them and for his kind providences that enabled them to obtain a cow without becoming amenable to any law of the land, though the poor widow had been actually cheated (J.D. Vol. 6, p. 71, 1857).

Do you know that Babylon [Capitalism] is going to fall? Her merchants will cry out, "There is no one to buy our merchandise." And if you and I do not learn how to take care of ourselves and raise and manufacture what we consume, we shall have to go without (J.D. Vol. 16, p. 45, 1873).

If one of our capitalists is asked to buy machinery, his reply is, "I can make money faster by bringing goods here to sell." Is that your object in coming here? You who feel so and so will either stop in your course and change it, or you will never enter the celestial kingdom. You will go where our merchants will go, if they are not careful (J.D. Vol. 11, p. 287, 1867).

. . . it is a blessing to this people, and one of the greatest that can be bestowed on us, to cut the thread between us and our enemies [capitalists], and oblige us to sustain ourselves in everything that we can produce with our labour, skill, and economy (J.D. 1858).

It may be said that we shall always be poor without commerce; we shall always be poor with it, unless we command it; and unless we can do this, we are better without it (J.D. Vol. 11, p. 134, 1865).

C. On the State

I believe in a pure representative government;. . . A government that is perfect would be called democratic. True representation, and what is meant or understood by true democracy, is the same (M. 16, p. 723, 1854).

Office-seekers are full of tricks and intrigues of every kind to get an office (J.D. Vol.7 , p. 14, 1854).

Politicians and traders [emphasis added] combined to lay plans, no matter how devilish, for getting their hands into the treasury of the United States, that they may have money with which to sow corruption and gratify their debauched natures (J.D. Vol. 5, p. 235, 1857).

Such politicians . . . "who look and long for the gaudy trash of this world should be removed, that men may occupy the high and responsible seats of the nation who will care for the welfare of the people, and cannot be bought with money, or that which it can purchase (J.D. Vol. 7, p. 14, 1854).

If we cannot find a man willing to control and guide us without our pouring the gold and silver into his coffers and exalting him above the rest of us, then we will take one less capable, who will do it for nothing (J.D. Vol. 7, p. 11, 1854).

. . . our Government is controlled by ignorance; and thousands who are ignorant of the true principles of correct government are placed in important positions, and every department more or less governed by ignorance, folly, and weakness. More imbecility has been manifested in the management of public affairs, of late, than ought to be manifested by any government (J.D. Vol. 7, p. 64, 1858).

They are so wonderfully smart! That is the difficulty. Every man in Congress is so smart that he is looking to the presidential chair. The boys of West Point and the boys studying law in the nation have their eyes on the presidential chair. The general feeling is . . . "I am intending to sit there." They are all looking to the presidential chair, and have been for years . . . the boy, the middle-aged Congressman, and the gray-headed Senator (J.D. Vol. 8, p. 322, 1861).

Are we a political people? . . . Yes, very political indeed. But what party do you belong to or would you vote for? I will tell you whom we will vote for: we will vote for the man who will sustain the principles of civil and religious liberty, the man who knows the most and who has the best heart and brain for a statesman; and we do not care a farthing whether he is a Whig, a democrat, a barn burner, a republican, a new light or anything else (J.D. Vol. 13, p. 149, 1869).

Very closely allied to this party spirit is the national feeling that some exhibit. This national feeling is another feature, that, breaks up the family of man, and divides them off into parties and nations having contrary interests. Mormonism on the other hand . . . drawing from all nations and parties, unites the family of man. . . . What has one nation to boast over another? . . . There are good and bad qualities in all nations. . . . All real Saints, when they receive the Gospel, will readily relinquish party spirit and national feeling, and count such things as the distinctive ornaments of Satan's kingdom (J.D. 16, p. 210, 1854).

D. On Military Spending and Imperialism

There is a spirit [Lucifer's plan again] that prompts the nations to prepare for war, desolation, and bloodshed . . . to waste each other away. Do they realize it? No. . . . (J.D. Vol. 8, p. 174, 1860).

Therefore, a . . . large share of the ingenuity of the world is taxed to invent weapons of war. What a set of fools (J.D. Vol. 8, p. 324, 1861).

When the nations have for years turned much of their attention to manufacturing instruments of death, they have soonor or later used those instruments. Our nation [U.S.], England, France, Germany, Austria, Italy and other nations have for years exercised their inventive skills and expended much means in inventing and fabricating instruments of death. . . . From the authority of all history, the deadly weapons now stored up and being manufactured will be used until the people are wasted away, and there is no help for it (J.D. Vol. 8, p. 157, 1860).

According to my definition of the word, there is not a strictly and fully civilized community now upon the earth. Is there murder by wholesale to be found in a strictly civilized community? Will a community of civilized nations rise up one against another, nation against nation, and kingdom against kingdom, using against each other every destructive invention that can be brought to bear in their wars? (J.D. Vol. 8, pp. 6-7, 1860).

Were I to make war upon an innocent people because I had the power, to possess myself of their territory, their gold, silver, and other property, and be the cause of slaying, say fifty thousand strong, hale, hearty men, and devolve consequent suffering upon one hundred thousand women and children, who would suffer through privation and want, I am very much more guilty of murder than is the man who kills only one person to obtain his pocket-book (J.D. Vol. 7, p. 137, 1859).

E. On Consumption

And though the improvements in the arts of life which have taken place within the memory of many now living are very wonderful, there is no question that extravagance has more than kept pace with them (J.D. Vol. 13, p. 304, 1870).

Our wants are many, but our real necessities are very few. Let us govern our wants by our necessities, and we shall find that we are not compelled to spend our money for naught (J.D. Vol. 12, p. 289, 1868).

. ... we must cease all extravagant living (J.D. Vol. 8 , p. 63, 1860).

Our artificial wants, and not our real wants, and the following of senseless customs subjects our sisters to an excess of labor (J.D. Vol. 12, p. 122, 1867).

Every yard of ribbon that I buy that is needless, every flounce and every gew gau that is purchased for my family needlessly, robs the church of God of just so much (J.D. Vol. 14, p. 18, 1870).

If the Lord has given me means and I spend it needlessly, in rings for my fingers, and jewelry for adornment, I deprive the Priesthood of that which they ought to have to gather the poor, to preach the Gospel, to build temples and to feed the hungry in our midst (J.D. Vol. 14, p. 18, 1870).

I fancy and am able to pay for a breakfast that would cost a hundred dollars, and I say to my wife . . . "Prepare me such and such a breakfast," and I actually eat a breakfast that cost a hundred dollars, the question arises--Am I justified, have I to give an account of this? I am not justified, and I certainly shall have to give an account. . . . Now what is my duty? I say that after eating my fifteen or twenty cent breakfast, if I have a hundred dollars that I can afford to spend therein, my duty is to give the residue towards sustaining the poor, building Temples, schoolhouses, sustaining the teachers, maintaining the orphan child, so that it may have an education, sending an Elder to preach the Gospel, and sustaining his family while he

is away, or something or other that will advance the kingdom of God upon the earth [emphasis added] (J.D. Vol. 18, pp. 74-75, 1876).

If taste, like mind and muscle, is a thing we are born with, it is no less a thing that we are under sacred obligation to cultivate and train properly. We enjoy because we have sensibility. Promote this sensibility, seek to get more and more knowledge, more wisdom, and more understanding . . . This will give us greater sensibility, and we shall know how to enjoy, and how to endure (J.D. Vol. 18, pp. 246-7, 1874).

Let us . . . show to the world that we have talent and taste, and prove to the heavens that our minds are set on beauty and true excellence, so that we can become worthy to enjoy the society of angels (J.D. Vol. 11, p. 305, 1867).

You watch your own feelings when you hear delightful sounds . . . or when you see anything beautiful. Are those feelings productive of misery? No, they produce happiness, peace and joy (J.D. Vol. 12, p. 314, 1869).

## F. On Work Specialization and Alienation

Recreation and diversion are as necessary to our well-being as the more serious pursuits of life. There is not a man in the world but what, if kept at any one branch of business or study, will become like a machine. Our pursuits should be so diversified as to develop every trait of character and diversity of talent. If you would develop every power and faculty possessed by your children, they must have the privilege of engaging in and enjoying a diversity of amusement and studies; to attain great excellence, however, they cannot all be kept to any one individual branch of study. I recollect once while in England, in the district of country called the "Potteries", seeing a man pass along the street, his head, perhaps, within sixteen or eighteen inches of the ground. I inquired what occupation he had followed for a living, and learned that he had never done anything in his life but turned a teacup, and he was then seventy-four years of age. How do we know but what, if he had had the privilege, he would have made a statesman or a fine physician, or an excellent mechanic, or a good judge? We cannot tell. This shows

the necessity of the mind being kept active and having the opportunity of indulging in every exercise it can enjoy in order to attain a full development of its powers (J.D. Vol. 13, p. 61, 1869).

Experience tells us that most of the inhabitants of the earth wear out their bodies without wearing their minds at all, through the suffering they endure from hard labor, with distress, poverty, and want. While on the other hand, a great portion of mankind wear out their bodies without laboring, only in anxiety. But when men are brought to labor entirely in the field of intelligence, there are few minds to be found possessing strength enough to bear all things; the mind becomes overcharged, and when this is the case, it begins to wear on the bodies, which will sink for want of exercise (J.D. Vol. 1, p. 30, 1852).

. . . some have to do much thinking and but little manual labor, while others do much manual labor with little, if any thinking. The latter class are as dull and stupid as the brutes, and when their labor is done, they lie down and sleep like brutes . . . men who do much thinking, philosophers for instance, should apply their bodies to more manual labor in order to make their bodies more healthy and their minds more vigorous and active (J.D. Vol. 3, p. 248, 1856).

It is nonsense to talk about building up any kingdom except by labor; it requires the labor of every part of our organization, whether it be mental, physical, or spiritual, and that is the only way to build up the kingdom of God (J.D. Vol. 3, p. 122, 1855).

And while you delight in raising flowers, etc., do not neglect to learn how to take care of the cream, and how to make of it good wholesome butter, and of the milk good healthy nutritious cheese; neither forget your sewing, spinning, and weaving; and I would not have them neglect to learn music and would encourage them to read history and the Scriptures, to take up a newspaper, geography, and other publications, and make themselves acquainted with the manners and customs of distant kingdoms and nations, with their laws, religion; geographical location on the face of the world, their climate, natural productions, the extent of their commerce, and the nature of their political organization; in fine, let our boys and girls be thoroughly instructed

in every useful branch of physical and mental education. Let this education begin early (J.D. Vol. 19, p. 189, 1862).

Deplorable indeed must be the situation of that people whose sons are not trained in the practice of every useful avocation, and whose daughters do not mingle in the hum of industry (M.S. January 5, 1852).

Fathers, teach your children to practice agriculture, or some useful mechanical trade. Mothers, you also are called upon to bring up your daughters to pursue some useful avocation for a sustenance (History of Brigham Young, February 1852, pp. 15-16).

. . . we have sisters here who, if they had the privilege of studying, would make just as good mathematicians or accountants as any man; and we think they ought to have the privilege to study these branches of knowledge that they may develop the powers with which they are endowed (J.D. Vol. 13, p. 61, 1869).

## G. Labor

Money is not real capital, it bears the title only. True capital is labor, and is confined to the laboring classes. They only possess it. It is the bone, sinew, nerve and muscle of man that subdue the earth, make it yield its strength, and administer to his varied wants (J.D. Vol. 1, p. 254, 1853).

Were it not for that, the gold and the silver and precious stones would remain in the mountains, upon the plains, and in the valleys, and never would be gathered or brought into use. The timber would continue to grow, but none of it would be brought into service, and the earth would remain as it is, but it is the activity and labor of the inhabitants of the earth that brings forth the wealth. Labor builds our meeting houses, temples, courthouses, fine halls for music and fine schoolhouses; it is labor that teaches our children, and makes them acquainted with the various branches of education, that makes them proficient in their own language, and in other languages, and in every branch of knowledge understood by the children of men; and all this enhances the wealth and glory and the comfort of any people on the earth (J.D. Vol. 16, p. 66, 1873).

There is no happiness in gold, not in the least. It is very convenient as an article of exchange, in purchasing what we need, and instead of finding comfort and happiness in gold, you exchange it to obtain happiness, or that which may conduce to it. There is no real wealth in gold. People talk about being wealthy--about being rich; but place the richest banking company in the world upon a barren rock, with their gold piled around them, with no possible chance of exchanging it, and destitute of creature comforts, and they would be poor indeed. Where then is their job, their comfort, their great wealth? They have none (J.D. Vol. 8, p. 168,1860).

Shall I give you my ideas in brief with regard to business and business transactions? Here for instance, a merchant comes to our neighborhood with a stock of goods; he sells them at from two to ten hundred per cent above what they cost. As a matter of course he soon becomes wealthy, and after a time he will be called a millionaire, when perhaps he was not worth a dollar when he commenced to trade. You will hear many say of such a person, what a nice man he is, and what a great financier he is! My feeling of such a man is, he is a great cheat, a deceiver, a liar! He imposes on the people, he takes that which does not belong to him, and is a living monument of falsehood. Such a man is not a financier! The financier is he that brings the lumber from the canyons and shapes it for the use of his fellow man, employing mechanics and laborers to produce from the elements and the crude material every thing necessary for the sustenance and comfort of man; one who builds tanneries to work up the hides instead of letting them rot and waste or be sent out of the country to be made into leather and then brought back in the shape of boots and shoes; and that can take the wool, the furs and straw and convert the same into cloth, into hats and bonnets, and that will plant out mulberry trees and raise the silk, and thus give employment to men, women and children, as you have commenced to do here, bringing the elements into successful use for the benefit of man, and reclaiming a barren wilderness, converting it into a fruitful field, making it blossom as the rose, such a man I would call a financier, a benefactor of his fellow man. But the great majority of men who have amassed great wealth have done it at the expense of their fellows (J.D. Vol. 19, p. 97, 1877).

We will take a moral view, a political view, and we see the inequality that exists in the human family.

We take the inhabitants of the civilized world, and how many laboring men are there in proportion to the inhabitants? About one to every five that are producers, and the supposition is that ten hours' work by the one to three persons in the twenty-four hours will support the five [sic]. It is an unequal condition to mankind. We see servants that labor early and late, and that have not the opportunity of measuring their hours ten in twenty-four. They cannot go to school, nor hardly get clothing to go to meeting in on the Sabbath. I have seen many cases of this kind in Europe, when a young lady would have to take her clothing on a Saturday night and wash it, in order that she might go to meeting on Sunday with a clean dress on. Who is she laboring for? For those who, many of them, are living in luxury: And to serve the classes that are living on them, [emphasis added], the poor, laboring men and women are toiling, working their lives out to earn that which will keep a little life in them. Is this equality? No. What is going to be done? The Latter-day Saints will never accomplish their mission until this inequality shall cease on the earth (J.D. Vol. 19, p. 46, 1877).

## H. On Food Storage

I had my seven years' breadstuffs on hand last year; but I have to deal it out, and I will deal it out to the last bushel, and try my faith with my brethren (J.D. Vol. 12, p. 243, 1868).

We must learn to listen to the whisperings of the Holy Spirit, and the counsels of the servants of God, until we come to the unity of the faith. If we had obeyed counsel we would have had granaries today, and they would have been full of grain (J.D. Vol. 12, p. 241, 1868).

We want you henceforth to be a self-sustaining people. Hear it, O Israel! Hear it neighbors, friends and enemies, this is what the Lord requires of this people (J.D. Vol. 12, p. 285, 1868).

If we could only learn enough to be self-preserving and self-sustaining, we should then have learned what the Gods have learned before us, and what we must eventually learn before we can be exalted (J.D. Vol. 9, p. 168, 1862).

How many of you have wheat or flour to last you a year? If you are without bread, how much wisdom can you boast, and of what real utility are your talents, if you cannot procure for yourselves and save against a day of scarcity those substances designed to sustain your natural lives (J.D. Vol. 8, p. 68, 1860).

As fast as possible, secure a year's supply of bread stuff, and then try to sustain yourselves without using any of that supply. . . . (J.D. Vol. 10, p. 338, 1864).

This community live as it were from hand to mouth. They must learn to lay up food. Notwithstanding all that has been said to the people on this subject, not one man to thirty has bread sufficient to last him one year (J.D. Vol. 12, p. 204, 1868).

I remember saying in the School of the Prophets that I would rather the people would exercise a little more sense and save means to provide for themselves, instead of squandering it away and asking the Lord to feed them . . . For years past it has been sounded in my ears year after year, to lay up grain, so that we might have an abundance in the day of want (J.D. Vol. 12, p. 240, 1868).

## I. On Wealth, Happiness, Equality

That we may attend to the business of beautifying the earth . . . . Beautify your gardens, your houses, your farms; beautify the city. This will make us happy, and produce plenty (J.D. Vol. 15, p. 20, 1872).

The whole world are after happiness. It is not in gold and silver, but it is in peace and love. Did I say love? Yes. You watch your own feelings when you hear delightful sounds, for instance, or when you see anything beautiful. Are those feelings productive of misery? No, they produce happiness, peace and joy (J.D. Vol. 12, p. 314, 1868).

This I know by experience. I know that the things of this world, from beginning to the end, from the possession of mountains of gold down to a crust of

johnnycake, makes little or no difference in the happiness of an individual. The things of this world add to our national comfort, and are necessary to sustain mortal life. We need these comforts to preserve our earthly existence; and many suppose, when they have them in great abundance, that they have all that is needed to make them happy. They are striving continually, and with all their might for that which does not add one particle to their happiness, though it may add to their comfort, and perhaps to the length of their lives, if they do not kill themselves in their eagerness to grasp the gilded butterfly. But those things have nothing to do with the spirit, feeling, consolation, light, glory, peace, and joy that pertain to heaven and heavenly things, which are the food of the everliving spirit within us (J.D. Vol. 7, p. 135, 1859).

The civilized nations know how to make machinery, put up telegraph wires, etc.etc.; and in nearly all branches they are trying to cheat each other, . . . they have been cheating themselves for the golden god . . . the Mammon of this world (M.S. Vol. 22, p. 741, 1860).

They dwell amid the whirl of mental and physical energies, constantly taxed to their utmost tension in the selfish, unsatisfying and frenzied quest of worldly emolument, fame, power, and maddening draughts from the syren cup of pleasure (M.S. Vol. 20, p. 218, 1857).

We are to learn how to enjoy the things of life--how to pass our mortal existence here. There is no enjoyment, no comfort, no pleasure, nothing that the human heart can imagine, with all the spirit of revelation we can get, that tends to beautify, happify, make comfortable and peaceful, and exalt the feelings of mortals, but what the Lord has in store for his people. He never objected to their taking comfort. He never revealed any doctrine, that I have knowledge of, but, what in its nature is calculated to fill with peace and glory, and lift every sentiment and impulse of the heart above every low, sad, deathly, false and grovelling fealing. The Lord wishes us to live that we may enjoy the fulness of the glory that pertains to the upper world, and bid farewell to all that gloomy, dark, deathly feeling that is spread over the inhabitants of the earth (J.D. Vol. 8, pp. 128-129, 1860).

Give me glory, give me power, give me wealth, give me a good name, give me influence with my fellowpmen, give me all of these, and it does not follow that I am thereby made happy (J.D. Vol. 7, p. 3, 1859).

This people have embraced the philosophy of eternal lives and in view of this we should cease to be children and become philosophers, understanding our own existence, its purpose and intimate design, then our days will not become a blank through ignorance, but every day will bring with it its useful and profitable employment God has placed us here, given as the ability we possess, and supplied the means upon which we can operate to produce social, national, and eternal happiness (J.D. Vol. 9, p. 100, 1860).

Now the object is to improve the minds of the inhabitants of the earth, until we learn what we are here for, and become one before the Lord, that we may rejoice together and be equal. . . . The earth is here, and the fulness thereof is here. It was made for man; and one man was not made to trample his fellow man under his feet, and enjoy all his heart desires, while the thousands suffer (J.D. Vol. 19, p. 46, 1877).

## J. On the Environment

Brigham Young constantly emphasized God's command "to beautify the face of the earth, until it shall become like the Garden of Eden" (J.D. Vol. 1, p. 345, 1853).

Heaven was the prototype of this beautiful creation when it came from the hand of the Creator and was pronounced good (J.D. Vol. 23, p. 175, 1882).

Who placed the dark stain of sin upon this fair creation? Man. Who but man shall remove the foul blot, and restore all things to their primeval purity and innocence? But can he do this independent of heavenly aid? He cannot. To aid him in this work heavenly grace is here (J.D. Vol. 10, p. 301, 1864).

. . . it, would however, take generations to entirely eradicate the influences of deleterious substances before we could attain our paradisaical state (J.D. Vol. 8, p. 64, 1860).

There is only so much property in the world. There are the elements that belong to this globe and no more. We do not go to the moon to borrow, neither send to the sun or any of the planets; all our commercial transaction must be confined to this little earth, and its wealth cannot be increased or diminished. . . . It is our privilege and our duty to search all things upon the face of the earth, and learn what there is for man to enjoy, what God has ordained for the benefit and happiness of mankind, and then make use of it without sinning against him (J.D. Vol. 9, p. 243, 1862).

It is not our privilege to waste the Lord's substance (J.D. Vol. 11, p. 126, 1865).

The very object of our existence here is to handle the temporal elements of this world and subdue the earth, multiplying those organisms of plants and animals God has designed shall dwell upon it (J.D. Vol. 9, p. 168, 1862).

Let the people build good houses, plant good vineyards and orchards, make good roads, build beautiful cities in which may be found magnificent edifices for the convenience of the public [emphasis added], handsome streets skirted with shade trees, fountains of water, crystal streams, and every tree, shrub and flower that will flourish in this climate to make our mountain home a paradise and our hearts wells of gratitude to the God of Joseph (J.D. Vol. 10, p. 3, 1862).

Beautify your gardens, your houses, your farms; beautify the city. This will make us happy, and produce plenty. The earth is a good earth, the elements are good if we will use them for our own benefit, in truth and righteousness (J.D. Vol. 15, p. 20, 1872).

To be prudent and saving, and to use the elements in our possession for our benefit and the benefit of our

fellow beings is wise and righteous (J.D. Vol. 16, p. 16, 1873).

Let every man and woman be industrious, prudent, and economical in their acts and feelings, and while gathering to themselves, let each one strive to identify his or her own interests with the interests of this community, with those of their neighbors and neighborhood, let them seek their happiness and welfare in that of all, and we will be blessed and prospered (J.D. Vol. 3, p. 330, 1856).

Then let us be content, and go to our mights to make ourselves healthy, wealthy, and beautiful, and preserve ourselves in the best possible manner, and live just as long as we can, and to do all the good we can (J.D. Vol. 15, p. 20, 1872).

. . . But to be slothful, wasteful, lazy and indolent, to spend our time and means for nought, is unrighteous (J.D. Vol. 16, p. 16, 1873).

## K. On Economic Development

It is your duty at every opportunity that presents to stretch forth your hands to the corners of the earth and gather choice seeds of every kind of grain, of vegetables, of fruits, or flowers or shrubbery, even everything which will tend to nourish or clothe the body, gratify the appetite, gladden the heart, or please the eye of man: so that your city can be so adorned and beautified that it will be a good desirable location for all good men, secure the admiration of angels, even a paradise of the world where Gods will delight to visit (Brigham Young, "First General Epistle . . . to the Saints," Latter-Day Saint Journal History, September 8, 1847, M.S.).

And to all the Saints in any country bordering upon the Atlantic, we would say, come immediately and prepare to go West--bringing with you all kinds of choice seeds, of grains, vegetables, fruits, shrubbery, trees, and vines; . . . also, the best stock of beasts, bird and fowl of every kind; also the best tools of every description, and machinery for spinning, or weaving, dressing cotton, wool, and flax, and silk, etc., or

models and descriptions of the same, by which they can construct them; and the same in relation to all kinds of farming utensils and husbandry, such as corn shellers, grain threshers and cleaners, smut machines, mills and every implement and article within their knowledge that shall tend to promote, the comfort, health, happiness or prosperity of the people (M.S. December 23, 1847).

We ernestly solicit the cooperation of all Saints, and particularly the elders in all nations, to gather, as they may have the opportunity, books in all languages, and on every science, apparatus, and rare specimens of art and nature, and everything that may tend to beautify and make useful, and forward or bring the same to the Regents of our University [University of Deseret, founded in 1850] for the benefit of all such as may hereafter seek intelligence in their hands (M.S. XII, p. 246).

. . . build colleges, teach the children, give them the learning of the world and the things of God; elevate their minds, that they may not only understand the earth we walk upon, but the air we breathe, the water we drink, and all the elements pertaining to the earth, and then search other worlds, and become acquainted with the planetary system (J.D. Vol. 14, p. 210, 1871).

Every art and science known and studied by the children of men is comprised within the Gospel. Where did the knowledge come from which has enabled man to accomplish such great achievements in science and mechanism within the last few years?

. . . Where have we received the knowledge to construct the labor-saving machinery for which the present age is remarkable? From Heaven. Where have we received our knowledge of astronomy, or the power to make glasses to penetrate the immensity of space? We received it from the same Being that Moses, and those who were before him, received their knowledge from; . . . From Him has every astronomer, artist, and mechanician that ever lived on earth obtained his knowledge (J.D. Vol. 12, p. 357).

Not only does the religion of Jesus Christ make the people acquainted with the things of God, and develop within them moral excellence and purity, but it holds

out every encouragement and inducement possible, for them to increase in knowledge and intelligence, in every branch of mechanism, or in the arts and sciences, for all wisdom, and all arts and sciences in the world are from God and are designed for the good of his people (J.D. Vol. 13, p. 147, 1869).

Let us train our minds until we delight in that which is good, lovely and holy, seeking continually after that intelligence which will enable us effectually to build up Zion, which consists in building houses, tabernacles, temples, streets, and every convenience and necessity to embellish and beautify, seeking to do the will of the Lord all the days of our lives, improving our minds in all scientific and mechanical knowledge, seeking diligently to understand the great design and plan of all created things, that we may know what to do with our lives and how to improve upon the facilities placed within our reach (J.D. Vol. 10, p. 177, 1863).

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